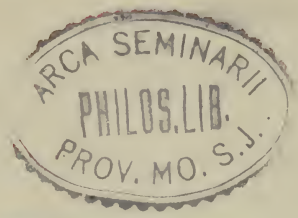
7 DAY BOOK
This book may be kept for 7 days only
It cannot be renewed
107 A2



272.05 W-86 18943
Woodstock Letters
v. 81 (1952)

272.05 W-86 18943

272.05
W86

SEMINARII PHILOS. LID. PROV. MO. S.J.

THE WOODSTOCK LETTERS

VOL. LXXXI, No. 4 NOVEMBER, 1952

CONTENTS FOR NOVEMBER, 1952

THE RESURRECTION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS 311
Paul Dudon

THE NEW RUSSIAN CENTER IN FORDHAM UNIVERSITY 361
Frederick Wilcock

HISTORICAL NOTES

The Philippine Islands as a Base for the China Missions 367
The Marquette University Building Program, 1948-1952 373

OBITUARY

Father John B. Furay 379
Father James H. Kearney 383

BOOKS OF INTEREST TO OURS

Per Un Mondo Nuovo (Lombardi) 395
Christ in Me. Prayer Book for Communion Mass (Lord) 402
Edith Stein (Sister Teresia de Spiritu Sancto, O.D.C.) 403
Father Thurston (Crehan) 404

CONTRIBUTORS

Father Paul Dudon (Toulouse Province), the well known writer, died March 20, 1941.

Father Gerald McCool (New York Province) is a fourth year theologian at Woodstock College.

Father Frederick Wilcock (English Province) is Superior of Soloviev Hall, the Russian Center at Fordham University.

Father James F. Kearney (Oregon Province) is editor of the *Malayan Catholic News* in Singapore.

Father Raphael N. Hamilton (Missouri Province) lectures on history in the college and graduate school at Marquette University.

Father Francis X. Busch (Missouri Province) is Spiritual Father of the philosophers at St. Louis University.

Father John J. McLaughlin (Maryland Province) teaches Ethics at the new Bellarmine College, Plattsburg, N.Y.

For Jesuit Use Only

Published four times a year, in February, May, July and November.

Entered as second-class matter December 1, 1942, at the post office at Woodstock, Maryland, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Subscription: Three Dollars Yearly

WOODSTOCK COLLEGE PRESS
WOODSTOCK, MARYLAND

THE RESURRECTION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

PAUL DUDON, S.J.

We can readily imagine that during the conclave which assembled after the death of Clement XIV the Jesuit question remained in the foreground. The ministers of the Bourbon courts let it be known that no pope could be elected who was not determined to keep the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor,* in force. Ambassadors and cardinals were to cooperate in seeing to that. Naturally, the cabinet at Madrid was the first to communicate its views on that subject, and it did so, not only to Paris and Naples, but also to Lisbon and Vienna. Even before he had been informed of the wishes of the Court, Moñino was working on Cardinals Bernis and Orsini at Rome. Everything done at the conclave should be directed toward preserving the *status quo.* Even the letters of condolence sent to the Sacred College made it quite clear that the work of the late Pope was to be left untouched.[1]

After the humiliations of Clement XIV's reign the cardinals felt an irresistible urge to throw off the princes' yoke. This sentiment was very strong among the *zelanti* and even some of Clement XIV's cardinals, starting with Marifoschi, shared it. So strong was this feeling that, from the beginning of September, Brunati, the Imperial agent of Vienna, predicted the election of a candidate whose attitude toward the rulers would be as far removed from servility as it would be from opposition.[2]

The conclave opened on October 5, 1774 with twenty-eight cardinals present. The rest arrived at different times—the French cardinal, Luynes, on November 4, the Austrian cardinal, Migazzi, on November 23, and the Spanish cardinal, Solis, on December 15—until eventually forty-eight *porporati* were taking part in the balloting. The ballotings were numerous and occasioned considerable excitement. On the morning of February 15, 1775 Gianangelo Braschi was unanimously elected, with the exception of his own vote, and took the name of Pius VI. This was the 265th ballot.[3]

The *zelanti* had taken the initiative in Braschi's candidacy. On January 21, 1775 the Cardinal Protector of Austria, Alessandro Albani, had presented his name at Vienna as the only

possible choice; Solis had taken the same position on February 1, and later Bernis and the Crown Cardinals had followed suit. Braschi had been a pupil of the Jesuits in his youth. Although he had been made a cardinal by Clement XIV he had not approved of the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor*. He let it be known in the conclave, however, that he had no thought of re-establishing the Society. After this assurance, Corsini, the Emperor's envoy, and Alamada, the Portuguese ambassador, found no more reason for hesitation about accepting Braschi's candidacy. Solis reported to Madrid the remark which Braschi had made to him, "The Society should not be restored, in my opinion, even if every one of the Bourbons should wish it to be." And so the new pope was elected.[4] In this respect the conclave of 1774 was a repetition of the one of 1769—with this single difference, that Braschi was a different man than Ganganelli and that the thunder and lightning of the Revolution would teach him a thing or two.

Delay in Prussia (1773-1780)

A year before the fatal signature of the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor*, three sovereigns had divided Poland among themselves. It is to our purpose here to recall that act of brigandage.

Maria Theresa, Frederick II and Catherine II are renowned for their mastery of statecraft. Vision, boldness and perseverance in realizing their objectives took the place of their missing consciences. Their people have given each one of them the name of "great." The Polish crisis sharpened their appetites without justifying them, and the treaty of partition which they signed is a manifest piece of iniquity.

After the death of Augustus III on October 3, 1763, Catherine II opened negotiations with Frederick II on August 14, 1764. The object of her negotiations was to make the election of Poniatowski more certain. The Confederation of Bar was formed in 1768 subsequent to the provocation given by Repnin's excesses in Poland. The Russians crushed the confederates and occupied Warsaw in the same year. Austria became alarmed and sent Nugent to inform the King of Prussia that she was definitely giving up all claim to Silesia. Having learned this, the King hinted at the advantage which

could come from the dismemberment of Poland. During 1770 interviews between Frederick and Joseph II followed. Kaunitz was present at the second. The Empress of Russia at the time of this meeting was engaged in fending off the attacks of Mustapha III's soldiers. These interviews, therefore, made her uneasy. Fortunately, the war turned out well for her. Walachia and Crimea were conquered. The Turkish fleet was destroyed in sight of the Dardanelles in 1771. Catherine could now accept the invitation to make the Polish game a three-handed one. Treaties followed (January 15, February 19, March 5, 1772). On July 21, the treaty of partition was signed "in the name of the Most Holy Trinity," and Frederick II wrote to Prince Henry of Prussia with his usual cynicism: "This will unite the three religions, Greek, Catholic and Calvinist, because we are communicating in the same eucharistic body which is Poland and if it is not for the greater good of our souls it will surely be for the great good of our states."

The Diet of Warsaw and Poniatowski resisted for twelve months and finally agreed to the dismemberment on September 18, 1773. After negotiations about the frontiers which lasted more than a year (March 15, 1775 to August 22, 1776), the definitive division into four Polands, Polish, Russian, Prussian and Austrian, became an accomplished fact. Contrary to expectations, Catherine II took the smallest portion—160,000 people; Frederick II took four times as much—600,000 people; and Maria Theresa took twice as much as her partners—1,600,000 people.

There were Jesuits in each of the conquered territories. What could they expect at the hands of their rulers? Maria Theresa had the brief of suppression executed. Poniatowski and the Diet did likewise. By an unexpected paradox, Catherine II and Frederick II protected the order which had been maltreated by the Pope and the Catholic monarchs.

Frederick had been confronted with the Jesuit question since the end of the Seven Years War, when the Treaty of Hubertusberg on February 15, 1763 had added Silesia to his kingdom. His first thought was to drive out the sons of St. Ignatius. His minister, Schlabrendorf, was given the order to draw up a plan for their explusion. But this policy of prejudice was soon abandoned and the Jesuits were not disturbed.

In 1768, the King even proposed to the General, Lorenzo Ricci, to receive in Prussia the learned Jesuits who had been driven from other countries. Two years later, on June 30, 1770 he ordered his agent in Rome, Father Ciofani, to inform the Pope that he was most anxious to have the Jesuits of Silesia exempted if the Society should ever be suppressed.[5]

This policy did not flow from the slightest chivalrous feeling in the King. Still less did it come from any trace of religious feeling. He was in regular correspondence with Voltaire and d'Alembert. In unison they longed for the "crushing of the infamous thing" and applauded the progress of reason, that is to say, agnosticism.[6] With more daring than the French philosophers, the Prussian foretold, without however setting a definite date, the certain disappearance of Catholicism. His reasoning was very simple. Everywhere in Europe, the monks were looked on with unfavorable eyes and everywhere in Europe finances were in a bad state. It followed, therefore, that the plundering of monastic property was inevitable. This would bring about the disappearance of the monks and that of itself would bring about the disappearance of Catholicism, since the monks were its only effective support.[7] We can imagine the astonishment at Ferney and Paris among the friends of the Prussian King, when they heard that he, a declared infidel, had become the protector of the Jesuits. They wrote him that he had chosen his time poorly, and that he was running a great risk. Frederick II replied with calm irony that he knew quite well how to make provisions against dangers to his throne; that those who preached tolerance should be the first to practice it; and that before long the French who had closed the Jesuit colleges would have reason to repent of it; furthermore, he had promised to maintain the *status quo* in the lands that he had recently conquered; and since he was a heretical king, the Pope could not dispense him from keeping his word.[8] This was the reasoning of the philosopher of *Sans Souci.* And anyone who wishes to learn the real secret of his policy has only to read one of his letters to Voltaire:

> I have saved this Order for better or worse, although I am a heretic and an infidel, too. My reasons are the following: there is not a single educated Catholic to be found in our land outside the Jesuits; we

have no one who can take over their classes; we have neither Oratorian Fathers nor Piarists; the other monks are crassly ignorant; therefore, I had to save the Jesuits or let all the schools go to ruin. The Order had to remain, then, to provide professors as the need for them arose and as far as the foundation could provide the funds for their maintenance. It would not have been sufficient to meet the salaries of lay professors. Furthermore, it was the Jesuit university which formed the students of theology destined to administer the parishes. If the Order had been suppressed, the university would no longer be in existence and it would have been necessary to send Silesians to study theology in Bohemia, and that would have been contrary to the fundamental principles of government.

All of the above reasons have made me the champion of this order.

And the letter ends with a pleasantry in the Voltairian vein:

Remember, please, Father Tournemine who was your nurse . . . and make your peace with an Order which in the last century bore and gave to France men of the greatest merit.[9]

It was easier to make fun of the Patriarch of Ferney than to solve the problem of saving the 350 Jesuits of Silesia and conquered Poland. The King of Prussia set himself to the task with decision.

He happened to be in Breslau on the very day, August 29, 1773 when the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor,* reached the Bishop, Maurice von Strachwitz. He instantly forbade him to publish it and on two further occasions, September 6 and September 16, sent the same prohibition to all the bishops of his new states.

This bold stroke proved most disconcerting to the parties concerned. The bishops of Prussian Poland, either through friendship for the Jesuits, lack of zeal or simply as a means of providing more effectively for the preservation of Catholic apostolic work, had determined upon a policy of delay, or were inclined to do so. Bajer of Kulm and Strachwitz of Breslau were rather inclined to execute the brief. The Jesuits were divided in the line of conduct they should follow. In Prussian Poland, they held that the brief was sufficiently promulgated. The Provincial of Silesia, on the other hand, had in mind the possibility of a Northern Society of Jesus, in which the Jesuits of England and Holland would be united to the Prussian Jesuits, and he thought that a provincial congregation could

elect a Vicar-General of the Order. Ricci was in prison, and Frederick gave his support to the whole scheme. He even let it be known that Father Karl von Reinach could be Vicar-General. In reality nothing was done. Not everybody in Rome spoke in the same vein. The Commission of Cardinals *Suppressionis Societatis* was urging the observation of the law quite energetically; the Secretary of State and the nuncio at Warsaw wanted to negotiate. The agents of the Holy See agreed on one point only: since the decision of Clement XIV was so plainly manifested, the Jesuits themselves were under a strict obligation to disband.[10]

Although this rigid solution was convenient for the authorities, since it gave them an excuse for doing nothing, there were three disadvantages connected with it. It might seriously provoke the King of Prussia; it meant the end of Catholic educational and apostolic activity in the new states of the King; and it deprived the Jesuits of the canonical support from those lands, which the legislator himself had taken care to provide for them.

The papal document, as we know, was unusual in a good number of its provisions. Its most unusual features, as the Jesuits of the time remarked, were that it was addressed to no one, and that it was not posted in any of the customary places in Rome. It is true that by the tenor of one of the paragraphs, it entailed immediate effects but only after promulgation. And yet clear and distinct directions for the ceremony of the promulgation were given in the circular drawn up by the Congregation *Suppressionis Societatis* which Clement XIV established. The circular required that the local ordinary see to it that the brief was made known to the assembled community in each house of the Society. It followed, therefore, that in the strict sense of the law, until such time as the ordinary carried out this formal notification, the houses were not dispersed and the religious were not, in point of fact, secularized.[11] This was the point of law in which, after a little hesitation, the Jesuits of Silesia and Prussian Poland were to take refuge.

At first they expressed sentiments of respectful obedience.[12] The Provincial of Silesia, Gleixner, asked the minister to inform the King that the Order could continue in existence only

with the approval of the Pope. He arranged towards mid-December, 1773 for a request to be made to Krasicki, Bishop of Ermeland, that the latter open negotiations to obtain this approval. On August 16, 1774 Father Karl von Reinach, Rector of the College of Wartenberg, wrote to Frederick II that he should make clear to Rome, through the Bishop of Breslau, his firm determination to keep the Jesuits in existence and his great desire to be authorized to do so.

Under the insistent pressure of Macedonio and Garampi, Strachwitz and Bajer brought matters to a head. The first refused to ordain Jesuit Scholastics and the second refused to grant ecclesiastical faculties. The Provincial, Gleixner, complained to the King on April 5, 1774. The King rebuked Strachwitz on April 6 and, as the latter continued to defend himself, reminded him on April 21 of the obedience due to his sovereign. Garampi expressed his regrets over the action of Bajer.[13]

At Rome, the incident was not looked upon favorably. Pallavicini consulted a professional canonist who said that the bishops were in the wrong. Finally, Clement ordered that a conciliatory reply be written to Krasicki, Bishop of Ermeland, and Garampi quickly communicated it to all the prelates who had asked his advice. According to the reply: *the Pope authorized all Jesuits, whose help the ordinaries should deem necessary, to teach in colleges, to preach and to administer the sacraments, and the fact that they lived in common was no bar to authorization.* This decision of March, 1774 opened the door to negotiations. Garampi and the nuncio at Vienna took steps toward negotiations and Augustine Felbiger and the King did likewise. The death of Clement XIV interrupted the conferences.[14]

These conferences were resumed after the election of Pius VI on February 15, 1775. Ciofani saw the new Pope, and Frederick sent a memorandum to Cardinal Rezzonico. The King's refrain did not change. There were Catholics in Prussia. Therefore, Catholic schools were a necessity and the Jesuits were the only ones who could run them. The Bourbons had no concern with what was done outside of their domains. Pius VI's reply could have been foretold. The brief of Clement XIV was to stand. The displeasure of the Bourbons

was not a thing which could be taken lightly, but if the King of Prussia could find some way of keeping the Jesuits in existence, the Pope would not oppose it. With that concession, Frederick II thought that his case was won and said so in writing to Garampi, the bishops and Father von Reinach. The King's letter made its way to Rome through unknown channels and the ambassadors of the Bourbon Courts were loud in protests against the scandal. Pius VI explained to Ciofani that the *status quo* to which he had given his agreement applied to Jesuits who had been reduced to the status of secular priests. Frederick II yielded. Strachwitz promulgated the brief at Breslau on February 5, 1776.[16] The Bishops of Prussian Poland were slower to move. A good number were not resident in their dioceses; others were without resources; some were friends of the Jesuits. But the Coadjutor of Kulm, Charles von Hohenzollern, was very insistent with the new nuncio and with the King. He made the proclamation of the brief a matter of personal concern to himself. Finally, at different dates, the Bishops promulgated it, and by the summer of 1780 Archetti could send the joyful news to Rome.[17]

He was rejoicing over ruins, however. The "Literary Institute" which Hohenzollern had established on the model of the one in Silesia was not a success. Funds sufficient to support it could not be found, nor could teachers be discovered who were suited to the work.[18] Frederick, his minister, Carmer, and Father Zeplichal had projected a Corporation of Priests of the Royal Institute of Schools but their project had no more lasting results than Hohenzollern's. The King had wisely enacted that the property of the Silesian Jesuits be applied to the Institute[19] and that the Royal Institute be obliged to support twelve students at the University of Breslau where they would prepare themselves for the work of teaching.[20] At Frederick's death, however, his successor sold the property of the Corporation, and it was dissolved on July 26, 1800. The proceeds went to the support of Protestant schools.

Thus the attempt of the King of Prussia to save the Jesuits in his states ended in complete failure.

The Smoldering Fire In Russia (1773-1799)

Catherine II was more fortunate in her endeavors in White Russia. Her good brother, the heretic, had prolonged the canonical existence of the Society, for better or worse, until about 1780. She, the schismatic, was able to keep it in existence *sine die.* She understood the situation better than Frederick II, and in turning it to her advantage she displayed to the full the pliability of a woman and the determination of a Tartar. The motives of the Semiramis of the North were, of course, no different from those of the philosopher of *Sans Souci.* It suited her to play the role of protectress of arts and sciences, and she did it with a stubborn persistence which overcame completely every bit of resistance which was offered to her design.

The essentials of this episode were given us long ago by Crétineau-Joly,[21] and, since then, copious details have been added by the works of Father Gagarin[22] and the Polish Jesuit, Father Zaleski.[23] We can give a more accurate account of this remarkable episode today, thanks to the documents which have been quoted in the works of Father Pierling[24] and in the Acts of the cause of Father Pignatelli[25] before the Congregation of Rites, which are reproduced in the last volume of Pastor.[26]

On her own territory, the Czarina had to deal with only one prelate, and that was a bishop who owed everything to her. The adventurous career of Stanislaus Siestzrencewicz gives a complete explanation of his conduct during the negotiations concerning the Jesuits of White Russia. He was a Lithuanian noble, Protestant by birth, who had begun his career as a student of Protestant theology at Koenigsberg, Amsterdam and London. Later on, he enlisted in a regiment of Prussian hussars and rose to the rank of captain. After this, he entered the service of the Radziwill family as tutor to the children. About all he had to recommend him was a knowledge of foreign languages and of the ways of the world. He became a Catholic in hopes of marrying a Catholic girl, but she would have nothing to do with him. After this misadventure, he attracted the attention and won the patronage of a court prelate, Massalski, Bishop of Vilna, who had known him while

he was in service with the Radziwills. Massalski ordained the young man, despite his ignorance and lack of religious convictions, gave him a parish, made him a canon, and finally put forward his name for bishopric. Poniatowski made him Bishop of Mallo *in partibus*; the bulls came from Rome and Siestzrencewicz was consecrated on October 1, 1773. The Czarina ordered him to come to Petersburg and once there, he succeeded in winning her favor. Soon after his arrival, by a ukase of November 22 of the same year, this prelate of forty-two was named Latin Bishop of White Russia and of all the Latin Catholics of the Empire.

He was so happy at receiving this extraordinary title that he went to Mohilev immediately and sent a pastoral letter to his people. The neighboring bishops took offense and contested his jurisdiction. The terrified nuncio, Garampi, who feared a schism might result, proposed a compromise which would give regular episcopal powers to this ignorant interloper, and Clement XIV, through fear of even worse consequences if it were refused, gave his sanction. Siestzrencewicz, moved by feelings of gratitude, sent a letter of perfect submission to the Holy See on August 9, 1776.[27] Such was the character of the man who would have to give the ecclesiastical decision on the validity of the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor,* in Russian Poland.

Stackelberg, the Russian minister to Warsaw, had sent the pontifical document to Petersburg on October 2, 1773. The Czarina's reaction was instantaneous. The brief was considered as not having been delivered. Publication was prohibited, and an order was given that any copy which might enter Russia was to be delivered to the agents of the government. The governor of Polotsk, General Kaetchnetnikov, sent a letter to the Rector of the college in that city, giving assurance of the Empress' good will, and reminding him that no Roman document could be received by anybody in the country, no matter who he was, without the sanction of the government.[28] The Bishop of Vilna, Massalski, went so far as to order the Rector to keep the *status quo* until further orders.[29]

Stanislaus Czerniewicz, Rector of Polotsk, had made his studies at the Roman College, and had been for several years

secretary for the Polish Assistancy at the General Curia of his order. He was a man of education, active and resolute in character, and an excellent religious. He sent an exact account of the state of affairs to the nuncio, Garampi, who did not reply. Father Czerniewicz was summoned to Petersburg by the Czarina on October 26 and was received by Czerniszew, the Governor of White Russia, to whom he frankly explained the embarrassing situation in which the silence of the nuncio had placed him. Czerniszew advised him to send a memorandum to the Empress. In his letter of supplication to her, the Rector of Polotsk asked simply to be allowed to obey the brief of suppression. Catherine II replied in these words:

> You owe obedience to the Pope in matters of dogma; in everything else you should obey your sovereign. I see, however, that you are overscrupulous. I will communicate with my Ambassador at Warsaw, therefore, and have him reach an understanding with the Papal nuncio and free you from your scruples.

Czerniewicz sent Catherine's letter and his own memorandum to Garampi. Still no answer was forthcoming.[30]

Garampi, although he was a man of exceptional intelligence, had no idea what to do. He could not extract a single word on the matter from Stackelberg, the Russian minister. He was receiving urgent instructions from Rome but he considered that they were impractical. He had asked Siestzrencewicz to promulgate the brief and had received as an answer from Petersburg: "The most high will is immovable in its decrees. I have received orders to leave the Jesuits as they are, and Her Majesty must be obeyed."[31] Several Jesuits were sending him inquiries regarding their status, and Garampi could not remain silent forever. He sent a letter one day to Father Komonowicz, the Rector at Dunaburg, and instructed him to take measures at Petersburg to bring about the promulgation of the brief of Clement XIV, and to continue his apostolic and educational work while he was awaiting the outcome. All the letters of the nuncio to Warsaw, however, are not in the same tone.

Czerniewicz saw Siestzrencewicz during his stay at Petersburg, but the latter avoided anything like a definite answer to his questions. His visits to General Czerniszew were received with unfailing cordiality, but the general made it quite clear

that the Czarina's decision would not change, and that she considered that she alone was the judge of what should be done in her empire. The Rector explained the financial situation of the college at Polotsk in a memorandum. There was no difficulty in that. By a formal ukase, the lands of the college were completely exempted from taxation.[32]

It would appear that when Czerniewicz told his brethren what had transpired at Petersburg after his return to Polotsk, and when they considered these events in the light of what had taken place in Prussia, they must have had reason to perceive in these remarkable coincidences what they could reasonably believe was a providential preservation of the Order.[33] The commentaries which the diplomats of the Bourbon courts at Petersburg and Rome made on the *Gazette de Varsovie,* however, ran in quite a different vein. Catherine was pleased when her tolerance provoked the comments of the entire European public. Moñino was enraged as he saw the master stroke of Spanish diplomacy put in danger. The French and Spanish Ambassadors at Petersburg questioned each other anxiously about the doings of a certin Don Benevenuti and a certain Don Cigala in Russia and they sent home ridiculous and unfounded stories in their dispatches.[34] Azara wrote from Rome to his friend Roda, Minister at Madrid, that he found it very difficult to believe in the death of the Jesuits.[35] The Commission of Cardinals *Suppressionis Societatis* tried to believe in it with all its might, for the honor of Clement XIV.

The question whether the Jesuits of the northern countries had faculties to administer the sacraments was a serious one. The Commission of Cardinals, as we have already seen in the case of Prussia, wanted to answer it in the negative. Garampi, who was better able to estimate the consequences, since he was on the spot, was more inclined to uphold an affirmative answer. The attitude of the Commission of Cardinals finally softened. Clement XIV gave his consent to the change of attitude and Cardinal Consalvi sent a recommendation to the bishops that they authorize the apostolic ministry of the Jesuits; for short periods, however, so that the periodic renewal of their faculties might remind the parties concerned of their precarious position.[36]

In all the phases of the dispute whose history we will now

narrate, one point remained fixed: the Czarina was determined to protect the Society. Czerniszew was given assurance of this from the first, and the subsequent difficulties would only make that point more obvious.

In the tangled skein of events, three principal ones must be kept in mind: the opening of a novitiate at Polotsk, the election of a Vicar-General of the Order and the mission of Benislawski to the Pope.

It was clear that if parishes were to be kept manned and colleges opened, some way of finding replacements for tired and aged workers would have to be found. The Czarina ordered the construction of a novitiate at Polotsk, and to accomplish it canonically she had at her service the ambition and the docility of Siestzrencewicz. This gentleman was playing a double game. With Father Czerniewicz he would sometimes assume the manner of a superior and attempt to act with a superior's power, while at other times he would deny that he had any authority whatsoever. He expressed his regrets to the new nuncio who was pressing insistently for the secularization of the Jesuits, and suggested some measures for bringing it about. He said plaintively that Czerniewicz considered himself exempt and maintained that the Jesuits of Russian Poland were true Jesuits. A very simple means of bringing these abuses up short and seeing that the brief of Clement XIV was respected would be to name some bishop, himself or some other, superior of all the Jesuits in White Russia. The nuncio thought that this scheme, which had been proposed to him secretly, was an ingenious one, and suggested it to Rome, only to meet with a rebuff.[37] Siestzrencewicz began his insinuations anew when he supplied a complete report on the religious of his diocese upon the request of the nuncio.[38] Archetti then asked for and received a decree, which the Pope approved, appointing Siestzrencewicz Apostolic Visitor of all the religious houses of White Russia for a period of three years.[39] Faithful subject that he was, Siestzrencewicz saw to it that the chancellery at Petersburg ratified the Roman document. Czerniszew got the idea of using the apostolic mandate as a means of canonically erecting the Jesuit novitiate. The Czarina gave her approval, and, at the same time that the Bishop received the order to

open the novitiate, he received the outline of a pastoral letter which would announce the event. He did as he was told and the novitiate opened on February 2, 1780 with eight candidates.[40]

Archetti was terrified; the Bourbon ministers were furious; the Pope asked Propaganda for a report of the affair, and Pallavicini wrote a sharp letter to the nuncio. The newspapers printed the news from Polotsk and the Secretary of State issued denials at Rome and Cologne.[41] Finally, Archetti called for an explanation from Siestzrencewicz who took refuge behind the Czarina's authority. The good of souls had been his only guide in conducting his pastoral office, but if Rome was determined to brave the wrath of the Empress of All the Russias he was prepared to resign his office in a spirit of sacrifice.[42] Catherine protected the Bishop by informing the nuncio at Warsaw, through her minister Stackelberg, that she was the author of the whole proceeding and that she intended to be mistress in her Empire.[43]

Faced with this determined attitude, what could the Bourbon ministers do, or what could the nuncio at Warsaw or the Secretary of State do? Moñino, who was in power at Madrid, used violence and diplomacy. He seized the Russian ships which were in the harbor of Cadiz, and proposed commercial agreements which were to Russia's advantage, conditioned on the destruction of the Jesuits in White Russia. He also tried to gain his end through the expedient of mediation in the Polish dispute. But all his schemes fell like so many stones in a well.[44] Archetti defended himself by sending exact copies of his entire correspondence to Propaganda. Pallavicini, who was in the pay of Spain, sent urgent orders to Siestzrencewicz, through the nuncio, to promulgate the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor*. He held stubbornly to this unworkable policy[46] even after the solemn visit of Catherine II to Polotsk and her meeting with Emperor Joseph II at the College of Mohilev,[47] and he persisted in it even after he had been warned by Garampi, the nuncio at Vienna, that nothing would overcome the obstinate determination of the Czarina, since it tickled her vanity to keep the Jesuits in a flourishing state so that they could later on spread through all of Europe.[48]

The unforeseen election of Father Stanislaus Czerniewicz

to the office of Vicar-General of the Order on October 17, 1781 provoked a new round of the same sort of distressing and useless diplomatic manœuvres. It had taken place, despite the obstacles put in its path by the incorrigible Bishop of Mallo, on the suggestion of Father Korycki, the former Polish Assistant who was living in Rome.[49] When Potemkin was informed of Siestzrencewicz's attempt to block the election, he gave assurance to Czerniewicz that the Empress was completely favorable to him. The diplomatic defeat which Spain had suffered could hardly be more stinging or more open. Grimaldi took strong measures at Rome in his attempt to have the election declared null and void but he had to be satisfied with the publication of a fresh denial in the Roman journal. Then Moñino took matters into his own hands. He got Grimaldi and Bernis to work together and demand that a brief be sent either to the Princes of the House of Bourbon or at least to the King of Spain. Pius VI resisted their demand for a long time but finally wrote to Madrid and Paris declaring that what had taken place in Russia was null and void, and that the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor*, was still in force. At Pallavicini's request, the courts gave their promise that this compromising letter would be kept secret. In return, the Spanish Ambassador at Petersburg was ordered to take no further action concerning the Jesuits.[50]

After this stroke of diplomacy, some way had to be found to get Siestzrencewicz to retract his pastoral and Catherine II to dissolve the novitiate. At the first mention of retraction the Empress came to the Bishop's defense, nominated him for the Archbishopric of Mohilev and demanded confirmation and the pallium from Rome. Stackelberg was told to "speak plainly and bluntly" to the nuncio and make sure that his threats were heard at Rome.[51] The Russian diplomat informed Warsaw and Vienna of his orders. Archetti wrote to Rome from Warsaw that concessions were in order. Garampi wrote from Vienna. He promised that he would intervene, but would make it clear that the Pope's good will had limits which must be respected.[52] At last, Pius VI wrote a conciliatory letter to the Czarina. He would overlook Siestzrencewicz's misdeeds but he earnestly asked Catherine II to nominate a Uniate archbishop for Mohilev and insinuated that the

settlement of the disagreements which still remained could be facilitated by the dispatch of a legate.[53]

The Empress had settled on her plan of action even before she received the papal message. The Provost, Benislawski, would go to Rome where he was to secure three things: his own nomination as Coadjutor of Mohilev, Siestzrencewicz's pallium, and the preservation of the Society in Poland.[54]

Benislawski, who was a former Jesuit, consulted the nuncio, Garampi, and the Russian Ambassador, Galitzin, at Vienna, secured letters of recommendation from them, and arrived at Rome, March 1, 1783. He was received by the Holy Father that same day. Pius VI questioned him in a kindly manner about all that had transpired in Russia. He listened to his three requests, granted the second which concerned Benislawski, reserved decision on sending the pallium until the Czarina replied to his letter of January 11, and gave no answer to the third. Benislawski threw himself on his knees and told the Pope that his instructions were to leave Rome if any of his requests were not granted. The Pope spoke a few hopeful words to him and asked him to send a memorandum on the three points under discussion. At a second audience, the Pope seemed colder and more indifferent but he accepted the memorandum brought by the Provost. On March 12, Benislawski was received again. The Czarina's letter had come. Pius VI gave a favorable reply to the first two requests. To the third, he merely repeated three times: "*approbo.*"[55]

Pallavicini wrote to Archetti that this approval was an invention of Benislawski. Archetti repeated the story and added that the Provost was a fanatic like all the recalcitrant Jesuits and a madman like all northerners. But this two-fold denial—which really is only one—cannot stand up against the account of Benislawski. He had spoken to Korycki at Rome and to Garampi and Galitzin at Vienna, and at Polotsk he signed a written statement under oath. Furthermore, the dispatches of the Venetian Ambassador at Rome clearly confirmed the entire account which he had given. Czerniewicz sent the happy news to all the members of the Order in a circular letter from Polotsk.

There is no lack of further proof to corroborate the fact of the *approbo*. A dissertation is in existence which was written

in that year, 1783, at the request of Father Korycki by the canonist Sanz, on the value of an *oraculum vivae vocis* of the Pope. When Archetti was appointed Legate to Petersburg in 1783 none of the official documents which he carried with him, either from the Pope or Propaganda, said a word about the Jesuits. If Archetti touched on that point during his mission with the Bourbon ministers, Potemkin and Vice-Chancellor Ostermann, it was on his own initiative and fruitlessly, as he admitted himself in his dispatches to Pallavicini. The Duke of Parma used the triple *approbo* as a sort of argument in his correspondence with Pius VI, and the Pope said nothing in reply. At Rome itself, Joseph II criticised the action of Clement XIV before the Pope at a public reception held by Princess Doria during his visit of 1786, and the Emperor went on to praise the Jesuits and to boast of how useful their services were to him in Austria.

Bernis reported the event in a dispatch to Vergennes and added in a discouraged tone, "The Pope was satisfied with expressing his opinion, and that not as forcefully as the occasion demanded, since he was most careful not to provoke a party to whom he was most closely allied in the past."[56]

The conduct of which Bernis complained is quite easy to understand but it was motivated by considerations very different from those which he alleged. We cannot forget Braschi's conversation with Solis in February, during the conclave of 1774. The weight of those words were to press down on Pius VI until his last day on earth. They were the source of the lack of forcefulness in his speech over which Bernis lamented, and they are the explanation of the reserve which he kept in dealing with Benislawski. They also account for the briefs which he sent to the Bourbons and of the remarkable letter which the Pope was to write later to Ferdinand of Parma. But in his heart, Pius VI thought, and more sincerely than Joseph II, that the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor*, was a mistake whose consequences were being felt in every part of Christendom. From that conviction came the verbal *approbo* of March 12, 1783 at the summons of the dread and imperious monarch in Petersburg.

After the death of Czerniewicz on July 18, 1785 several Vicars-General were to be elected,[57] and of these Gabriel

Gruber would be pre-eminently *persona grata* at the court of the Czars because of his remarkable gifts.[58] The course of events was to be unchanged by the death of the great protectors of the Society, Czerniszew and Potemkin. Even the death on November 3, 1796 of Catherine II herself would bring no disturbance to the Jesuits. The unbalanced Paul I would show himself just as zealous a benefactor as his mother had been, and the intrigues of the incorrigible Siestzrencewicz did nothing but discredit their author. The nuncio, Litta, who was sent to represent the Pope at the coronation of Paul I, cautious though he was by disposition, finally came out openly at Rome as an advocate of the Russian Jesuits.

So it happened that Providence, by a paradoxical turn of events, made use of the caprice of the Semiramis of the North to keep smouldering under its ashes in Russia the fire which Ignatius of Loyola had lighted in Rome in 1540.

First Signs of Resurrection (1774-1779)

The first signs of resurrection were soon to appear. They were visible in many lands and could be seen in events of great significance. In France, the weak Louis XV was in no way hostile to the Society, even though he allowed the parliaments to work their will. He gave a favorable reception to the memorandum on the re-establishment of the Jesuits drawn up by Christopher de Beaumont and presented by Mme. Louise de France in 1774. The Duke d'Aiguillon and Bernis opposed it in the Council, and, at the death of the King, the project was buried.[59] The ministers, however, had all they could do to prevent the episcopate from appealing the matter to the Council.

In the Austrian Netherlands, Feller, who had been sent into exile, was given permission to return. In 1790 the Treasurer of Brabant presented a document to the States which called for the return of the Jesuits.

The same request was made in several of the Polish Diets. The nuncio, Saluzzo, was able to stifle the project with the assistance of the Spanish Minister. Nevertheless, Lepski introduced the measure to recall the Jesuits once more on July 16, 1796.[60]

Cardinal Migazzi, Archbishop of Milan, presented the same

petition to Emperor Francis II in December, 1793. The question was re-opened by the Elector of Trier, Clement August, who worked at it stubbornly from 1794 to 1797, sending one memorandum after another, casting about for allies, working in company with the nuncio, Annibale della Genga, who had taken flight from Cologne, and talking personally to the Emperor. He might have succeeded in his enterprise were it not for the opposition of the old Prime Minister, Kaunitz, who never let go the reins of government and was never able to shake off the spell of his atheist philosophy.[61]

The fires of the French Revolution, which were casting their glow across the continent of Europe, enlightened men who were capable of reflection and honest courage. In a few months it had shaken the old regime to its foundations, sent Louis XVI into prison and under the blade of the guillotine, undermined the old national religion, murdered and exiled priests by the thousands and sent victorious soldiers marching across the French frontiers to bring down the tyrants and overthrow the altars. Events such as these taught lessons whose significance could not be missed. One of the sovereigns of the day who understood them most thoroughly was Ferdinand, the young Duke of Parma. When he was twenty he had driven the Jesuits from his states, at the urging of his minister, William du Tillot, and to please his uncle, Charles III. Ten years later, his one concern was to bring back to his territory the men whom he had sent into exile, and he worked at that project with a determination and a constancy which are unbelievable.

He broached the matter first to the King of Spain on January 26 and on April 20, 1787 and, as we can imagine, was completely rebuffed. How else could the King, who was watching so narrowly to see that the brief of Clement XIV kept its deadly efficacy, receive the advances of a young and inexperienced Duke?[62] Ferdinand turned to Catherine II and the Vicar-General Lenkiewicz on July 23, 1793 to ask them for a handful of the "precious seed" which had been miraculously preserved in Russia. His interviews and correspondence with Father Borgo sustained the young prince's courage, and he sent a formal request to the Pope for permission to employ the Jesuits in the schools of the Duchy. The Czarina and Lenkie-

wicz sent gracious replies and Pius VI sent a good-humored answer: Jesuits were being employed everywhere, even at Rome. The good of souls must take precedence over everything else. This answer, however, remained secret. Three Jesuits left Polotsk for Parma.[63]

Encouraged by this first success, Ferdinand had spirit enough to speak a few plain truths to the Pope. Since the Society had a legitimate existence in the Church of God, even if only in one corner of Europe, was there any reason why it should not exist elsewhere? If the request for its existence had to come from a Bourbon, he, in whose veins flowed the blood of the Bourbons, was making it. The Czarina would be pleased, the Catholics of Parma would have the advantage of a Christian education, strength would be given to consciences which were still fearful, and the Holy See would have a few more fearless defenders. Europe would not be in the sad condition in which she was, if the Jesuits had been re-established sooner. The letter is long, effusive, outspoken and completely free from diplomatic reserve.[64] The essential passage of Pius VI's reply is worth quoting:

> We have never said nor thought that it was a good thing to disband a body of men which served the Church well in the field of education, whose founder is praised in her official liturgy, and whose absence today has led to the disastrous consequences which we can plainly see. If we consider the way in which the Society was suppressed and the views of the men who took the leading role in her suppression, we must say that neither has our approval or support. The law is in force, however, and it should be observed. But we will act as though we knew nothing about what is going on, just as we did with those who took refuge in the North. But if some of the great Catholic princes take umbrage (at your enterprise) either at the instigation of some regulars who are jealous (of the Jesuits) or at the urging of certain *Filosofanti* who have set this whole machine in motion, we will be forced to disapprove the determination of Your Highness which we are pleased to ignore at the moment although we are quite well aware of it.[65]

The Duke took the reserves of the Pope in good spirit. He understood that he was not being given the approval which he had asked. He would be discreet in his actions. The Jesuits of the College of Parma would dress like secular priests although their internal government would follow the rules of their Institute. Furthermore, Spain had been informed of

what was going on at Parma and Placentia. What he was doing could not fail to serve the interests of religion and the Church more effectively.[66] In a second reply Ferdinand assumed a bolder tone and his pleas and statements were made with eloquence. The Russian Jesuits were not rebels. An attestation had been made under oath that the Pope had given them a triple *approbo*. The College of Nobles had become "a scandalous inn of immorality and irreligion" since the departure of the Jesuits. The religious who were in charge of the College of Placentia were teaching error and Jansenism. Priests and religious other than the Jesuits had been working in the Duchy for more than twenty years, "and what advantage had the Church, religion, the schools, piety or the principality gotten from their work? Let His Holiness answer that!" All that was needed to effect a complete change for the better was the recall of the Jesuits. Neither the "unhealthy passion" of some regulars nor the "rage of the *Filosofanti*" gave the Prince the slightest desire to take precautions. "Let His Holiness grant him Jesuits under the conditions which he had requested or such conditions as His Holiness thought best."

Other letters of what appears to have been urgent insistence followed. In the reply of Pius VI to the letter of August 1, the Pope thanked the Prince for having written to Madrid and urged him to keep pressing the matter. Then he remarked:

> The report that we do not wish to receive questions on this matter is one of the usual false and calumnious stories. The truth is, on the contrary, that it is one of the dearest wishes of our heart, and we will accede to each request as far as it is possible. Our disposition must remain a secret, however, for it is by giving the appearance of indifference that we can be of most service.[67]

From that date, the true sentiments of the Pope would become more and more transparent in his correspondence with the Duke of Parma and the citations which will be quoted in the following paragraphs will make that quite evident.

Spanish diplomacy was still mounting a faithful guard over the brief of Clement XIV. The Court of Madrid had taken on itself the mission of seeing that the extermination of the Jesuits was carried out to the very end, and the death of

Charles III on December 14, 1788 had not concluded that mission. His ministers alerted Charles IV to the grave danger which was hatching at Parma.[68] Ferdinand, however, was too open-hearted a character not to be the first to let his brother-in-law know what he had in mind. The King's reply was blunt and categorical: "I will never give you my approval." Ferdinand, far from being discouraged, returned to the attack with vigor. A moving dialogue took place between the two rulers during the long months. The words of the Duke were heated and full of faith. The King spoke in a much drier tone. The following is a summary of their exchange.

The Duke of Parma: "The re-establishment of the Jesuits is the will of God." Those who will come from White Russia to Parma are Italians. The Duke has taken advantage of the *approbo* which the Pope gave to the Society in White Russia to bring schoolmasters into his states who will bar the road to disorder in ideas and morals. The enemies of the Jesuits are the enemies of religion. God will bless the King of Spain if he will only open the gates of his kingdom to the sons of St. Ignatius.

The King of Spain: Irreligion and immorality have passed all bounds, it is true. It is a son's duty, however, to respect the memory of Charles III. The expulsion of 1767 was "advised by holy and virtuous men and solemnly confirmed" by Clement XIV.

The Duke of Parma: Charles III was a religious sovereign, but "he was deceived by the treachery and malice of unbelievers," who are only too successful in "seducing many worthy men." Far from being a dishonor, "undoing the damage caused by his father's mistake" will bring glory to his son if it is done through a desire to save his country. He should write to the reigning Pope, taking care, however, to keep the correspondence secret.

The King of Spain: If Charles III were alive he would act now as he acted in the past. His sentence of banishment was an act of justice. A good son should adhere to his policy. If the re-establishment of the Jesuits is the will of God, He will make it known. Until He does, the King of Spain will continue to consider the Jesuits enemies of his kingdom. A

great deal of reflection would be necessary before writing to the Pope.

The Duke of Parma: Although the Duke is not a prophet the King can believe, as though a real prophet had spoken to him, that the re-establishment of the Jesuits is the will of God. The indications of that will are numerous: the moral state of Spain, the initiative which the Duke has undertaken. If the King were to write to the Pope, that would be still another indication of the divine will.

The King of Spain: There is nothing to add to what has already been said on the Jesuit question.

The Duke of Parma: The obstinacy of the King is a cause of great sorrow. How can he fail to understand that what is taking place today is a divine punishment of the kings and the peoples who have allowed evil doctrines to prevail! "The men who wanted to destroy the Society wanted only to destroy religion." The Duke will write to the Pope in the name of the King.

The King of Spain: Since the Duke has urged the matter so energetically, an answer must be given. The advice of a defender of religion is not a sufficient indication of the will of God. Furthermore, the good offices of the Duke with the Pope are not acceptable to the King.

The Duke of Parma: In the extreme sorrow which he feels he has at least the consolation of knowing that he has done all in his power to realize the designs of God. Please Heaven that some stroke of the Divine Hand may not come some day to force the King to yield![69]

Pius VI, however, was counting on the intervention of the Duke of Parma to win over Charles IV to the cause of the Jesuits. The Pope's anticipations were not justified but, at least, his correspondence with the Duke revealed his true sentiments and hopes.

One day, the Pope was to write to Ferdinand that if the King of Spain were to send a letter to Rome, it should come through the Duke, in order to make sure of its secrecy, and that the Queen of Spain and her children should work together to make the King yield. "If the Jesuits should ever be re-established in Spain," declared Pius VI, "we hope to see the example of Spain followed everywhere and we would be one of the first to imitate it."

A little later, he recommended that the Duke attach an Italian translation to the letter which was to come from Madrid, so as to avoid any possibility of misunderstanding. Then he asked the Duke to tell him which language should be employed in his reply to the King of Spain. At last, he sent the news that he had seen the confessor of the Queen of Spain at Rome and had spoken frankly to him concerning the re-establishment of the Jesuits. The prelate was "very favorable to it" and since he had "good sense" as well as "good intentions" there was no doubt that his cooperation would be "active and able." The Queen of Spain should help him by her personal efforts. "The incalculable evils which have come from the suppression of the Jesuits are only too well known from experience" and there is no necessity to dwell on them at length. If it is not the wish of Spain that the Jesuits exist within her frontiers, let her make it known, at least, that she "has no objection to the Pope's granting permission to establish the Jesuits to anyone who asks him for it."[70]

These words date from 1797. They have little in common with those which the Pope used in 1794, when he reminded Duke Ferdinand that the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor,* was still in force. They are even less in conformity with the words of the Secretary of State and the nuncios of Warsaw, who spoke in the name of Pius VI. We can believe, however, that the secret thoughts of Pius VI were the same from the very beginning. The courageous initiative of the Duke of Parma, and the events in Italy too, without doubt, were needed to draw them out of the hiding places of his heart. When the Pope signed the brief of September 17, 1797 which we have just quoted, he was suffering under the conditions of the harsh treaty of Tolentino, which a victorious Bonaparte had forced on him eighteen months previously, and on February 10, 1798 General Berthier was to occupy Rome.

All know how the Pope's life ended. That kindly man whose reign had been passed in endless conflicts with Viennese Josephism, with the doctrines of Febronius and Scipio Ricci and with the French Constituents, who were attempting to establish a Civil Constitution of the Clergy, was to experience in his last days the full brutality of force. He was torn from the Pontifical Palace on February 20, 1798 and on February

25 arrived at Siena where he was to spend three months in the house of the Augustinians. He was brought to Florence on June 1, and was lodged in the Charterhouse of that city until March 29, 1799. Since he was still too close to his states and to the battle-fields of Italy, the journey began once more, through Parma, Turin, Briançon, Grenoble. At last, he came to Valence on July 14, and died there, crucifix in hand, on August 29, worn out by old age, sickness and sorrow, and fortified by Holy Viaticum and extreme unction. He was eighty-two years old and in the twenty-fifth year of his pontificate.[71]

During that rough and agonizing journey from Rome to Valence, in the course of which his entourage expected to lose him more than once, the Pope displayed unbelievable gentleness and courage. It caused him great sorrow to see his kingly dignity exposed to the mercy of an impious and cruel soldiery, made more brutal by their fear of not following the orders of the Paris Directory to the letter. His agony and affliction were even greater when he was forced to witness so many violations of the law of God and of the Church, and to see how the law of the triumphant Revolution had put the salvation of so many souls living under it in danger. Yet even in the midst of such unrestrained sacrilege, there was reason for hope. In France itself, bishops, priests and great numbers of ordinary Catholics had given an example of most heroic fidelity. Moving letters were written to the Pope by the exiled bishops. At Siena and Florence, the Pope had received the homage of young priests who were anxious to re-establish the Society of Jesus with his benediction. A long dispatch had come from the nuncio, Litta, setting forth the urgent reasons which called for a clear declaration recognizing the survival of the Society in White Russia.

Marotti, the private secretary of Pius VI, was a former Jesuit. We have four of his letters to Litta, all written from Florence.[72] In the letter of March 2, 1799 he transmits the following official reply:

> Let your Most Reverend Excellency have the Court of Russia and the Bishops send a petition, and have the Jesuits send one too, insofar as you shall judge opportune. In the meantime, in your dealings with them follow what you understand to be the wishes of the Court and the Bishops.[73]

In giving these orders, Pius VI was speaking from his heart. His true sentiments were known by those to whom he could speak freely. In that same year of 1799 there were a number of people of consequence in Austria who definitely favored the scheme of re-establishing the Society in the Empire. The Emperor, Francis II, was favorable to it. It was with an eye to this project that the nuncio at Vienna, Gaetano Albani, had thought of regularizing the Jesuits' whole position by a provisional *placet* of the Sacred College. Consalvi and the Dean of the Cardinals, John Francis Albani, foresaw this move.

Without hesitation Consalvi wrote to the nuncio at Vienna:

> You do me wrong, great wrong, when you think that there ever was a time when I was not strong in my belief that the Jesuits must be re-established. As God is my witness, that has always been my firm conviction. . . . There was a time when, even though I was on their side, it seemed to me a little on the fanatical side to say that the Church could not live without them since she had lived without them for so many centuries. That, however, is an error of which I had been disabused long before the French Revolution when I learned what the true nature of Jansenism was. I believed then, and I believe now that the Church lives very badly without the Jesuits. If I were master, I would re-establish them tomorrow. I have told the Pope so many times and he has always been most anxious to do so. However his fear of the princes who opposed the measure made him delay (this re-establishment) in the hope of being able to realize it some day. If he lives and recovers his liberty he should do so without delay, and if he does not live, his successor should do so.[74]

Cardinal John Francis Albani is no less clear in his assertions. According to him, the provisional *placet* of the College of Cardinals would not suffice. Beside the fact that there were those who opposed the idea, this *placet* would offer no stable guarantee of existence. The Fathers of the Faith were an even less satisfactory solution. "Pious, learned and zealous" though they were, they were not Jesuits. "They (would) not be Jesuits until the day on which they were aggregated to the Body of the Society of Jesus canonically existing in White Russia." The Jesuits who had been kept in existence there were "truly such by the explicit or secret authority" of the Holy See, explicit[75] on the part of Clement XIV and secret on the part of Pius VI. The way to solve the Austrian problem

was to unite the former Jesuits who were living in the domains of Francis II to the Jesuits of White Russia.

> The matter is one of concern to me and to our holy religion. The welfare of the Church depends on it. . . . No one could be happier than I at the news that the good Emperor desires to have Jesuits in his states without any modification (of their institute).... A way to secure this would be to have the Emperor send the Pope a letter asking for pontifical approval. . . . There is absolutely no reason why his Majesty should fear to do so because of the present circumstances of the Holy Father (captivity), for the Holy Father is quite convinced of the necessity of the Church's securing means of educating well a generation of young people which is very different from the young people who came to her for their education years ago. As for the Pope's entourage, the only person who can act in the name of the Pope in grave matters is Don Marotti, a former Jesuit, and so there is no doubt whatever about his cooperation in this work of God.[76]

The request which the Cardinal advised was not made. By that time the Pope was already at Valence. A letter of Francis II would have found the faithful Marotti still at the Pope's side. But how was it possible, in 1799, to send a letter from Vienna to Valence? The question would be taken up again later and we will discuss it again in the course of the article.

So it was that in his last days, when he would certainly have been most pleased to undo in part the damage done by the mistake of Clement XIV,[77] the dying Pope had to be satisfied with an act of good will toward the remnant of the Society which still existed in the states of Paul I.

Efforts At Revival In France and Rome (1790-1814)

Doubtless the survival of the Institute in a corner of Russian Poland was a remarkable event, perhaps even a miracle. But is it any less of a miracle that men of faith should endeavor to take up the work of St. Ignatius once again in the very midst of the French Revolution? Such an enterprise was inspired by the compassion of saints, who saw before their eyes men whose souls were in danger of being lost forever. Humanly speaking, everything seemed against the success of such a project, and the time seemed ill-chosen. Nevertheless, these ardent apostles began their work just the same, in the hope that God would be with them, since they were working out of love for Him.

One of them, Picot de Clorivière,[78] was a former Jesuit who had become a parish priest of Paramé after the suppression. On July 19, 1790 at Dinan, he conceived the idea of forming a secret congregation which would be completely animated with the spirit of St. Ignatius. He submitted his plan to the Bishop of Saint Malo, Cortois de Pressigny, and asked for his approval, which was granted on September 18. When "The Society of the Heart of Jesus" had spread to several dioceses, Father de Clorivière sent two of his priests, Astier de Gap and Beulé de Chartres, to Rome. This was in 1800. The two messengers whom the founder sent to Pius VII informed him of the Society's plan of action[79] and the results which had been achieved so far. The Pope was more keenly aware than anybody else of the extreme need of zealous apostles in France. He gave them his blessing and handed them a brief addressed to the Bishop of Saint Malo.

That mission, secret as it was, had not escaped the notice of some of the important men of the day. Maury mentions it in his correspondence with the Duke of Avaray. Spina and Consalvi paid some attention to it in their diplomatic dispatches. The Abbé d'Auribeau speaks of it in his *Mémoires*. It would be difficult, however, to attach to the mission of Father de Clorivière's two representatives the importance which is given to it in some of the old brochures, which were published at Chartres, and which have been brought to our notice once again, thanks to the research work of Abbé Marcel Langlois. Unless I am mistaken there is no proof that they had been commissioned by "some of the best heads among the bishops" and by the "French government" to convey to the Pope some interesting secret information concerning the Concordat, which was being negotiated at that time by Spina and Bernier, under the watchful eye of the First Consul.[80]

Whatever may have been the truth of the case, the report of Portalis on June 8, 1804 gave as its conclusion that the "Society of the Fathers of the Heart of Jesus" should be dissolved. Its head had been under unjustified suspicion for quite some time. The suspicion arose from the fact that the men involved in the attempted assassination, which has become known to history as "the infernal machine plot," had gone to confession to Father de Clorivière. This implicated

Father de Clorivière in the case, and he was forced to become a fugitive, whom the police pursued vainly for three years before running him to earth in Paris in 1804. He remained in prison until 1809, and though he was able to pray and meditate in his cell, he could not work effectively there to promote his congregation, and, even after 1809, his Society had very few members. It would appear that the very fundamental principle on which his congregation was based—dispersal of its members who were united by secret bonds—stood in the way of any sort of continuous and powerful action.

The history of "The Society of the Heart of Jesus" and of the "Fathers of the Faith" is quite different.[81] The first owed its origin to two seminarians from Saint Sulpice, who had taken flight before the republican armies, which were invading Luxemburg. Their names were Éléonor de Tournely and Charles de Broglie. The second was founded by Nicholas Paccanari, an illiterate merchant's son from Trent. Both societies were endeavoring to realize, in a religious community, an ideal of the apostolic life which was based on the Society of Jesus, and lived according to rules which were analogous to the Constitutions of St. Ignatius. The first was founded in 1794 at Antwerp after a pilgrimage to Notre Dame de Hal, and the second was established in 1797 at Rome following a pilgrimage to Loretto. Both societies made profession of boundless devotion to the Roman Pontiff.

The "Society of the Heart of Jesus" rapidly drew to itself excellent men, whose names can be found among those of the earliest members of the Society in the first days of the Restoration. They numbered thirteen when they endeavored to reach Pius VI at Rome in 1796. Their delegates were unable to go further than Ferrara, however, and were forced to turn back to Hagenbrunn in Austria, three miles from Vienna. Tournely died there on July 9, 1797 and Varin became superior. He drew up a memorandum which is a sort of sketch of the new Institute. It is a complete copy of the Constitutions of Saint Ignatius. The document was countersigned by Migazzi, Archbishop of Vienna, and some thirty French bishops who had taken refuge in Germany. The nuncio, Ruffo, sent it to the Pope and Pius VI who had already been driven from Rome replied by sending a most encourag-

ing brief, dated September 19, 1799 from the Charterhouse of Florence.

"We praise," said the old Pope, "the faith, charity and constancy which has animated you to choose a way of life which can bring you nothing but hard work and continual trials as long as you remain among men. We exhort you to persevere in your design. Form yourself in all sanctity and wisdom by unfailing prayer, the practice of ecclesiastical virtue and the study of theology, so that when circumstances give the opportunity, you may be able to devote yourself to the apostolic ministry for the greater good of the Church and the service of your neighbor."

The Pope advised against the journey to Tuscany in view of the difficulties involved and the tumult caused by the war. He was aware, moreover, through the letters which he had received, of the devotion of these young priests to the Holy See. He left it to the discretion of Migazzi, Archbishop of Vienna, to determine whatever he should think best and to act accordingly in granting canonical approval.

Despite the distance and the political disturbance of the times, news had spread in France about this group, cut off though it was by its position beyond her borders. By the end of 1799, "The Society of the Heart of Jesus" numbered forty young, ardent and determined members. At its foundation, Tournely had written to Father Lenkiewicz, Vicar-General of White Russia, and offered him his tiny band. Lenkiewicz had advised him to wait. They waited, but in their hearts, they felt that they were the brothers of the Jesuits who had remained in existence in the Empire of the Czars.

The group which Paccanari had gathered round him at Rome was of lesser importance and had less religious spirit. Its head was also a man of debatable character. The "Fathers of the Faith" numbered only ten when they took their first vows in the Chapel of the Caravita at Rome on August 15, 1797. They established a foundation at Spoleto, however, at the beginning of 1798, and, on April 12 of the same year, Paccanari was at the feet of the Pope at Siena. In the course of a journey, on which the brutal insistence of the soldiers of the Revolution had already hurried him far from Rome, the Pope gave a gracious reception to a founder who was offering him the services of faithful priests. He gave his benediction

to the project which was submitted to him and granted some privileges. But in view of the identity of the aim of the Societies of the Faith and of the Heart of Jesus, he advised that they unite.

The union was agreed to after a discussion with Paccanari, who had suddenly appeared at Hagenbrunn in April, 1799. A week was spent in deliberation concerning the articles of what would henceforth be their common rule, and on April 18 the definitive act of union took place at the foot of the altar. Paccanari was elected superior, an act of obedience was made to him, and all present sang the *Te Deum*. The new superior immediately proceeded to scatter his apostles. He ordered his men precipitously to Germany, France and Italy while he himself returned to rejoin the companions whom he had left at Rome.

Signs of mistrust were soon to appear. The new superior spoke well, but he spoke too much. He was much too fond of flashy and spectacular performances, and too elusive as well. When Varin had asked him what his relations were with the Fathers in White Russia, Paccanari had taken refuge in vague explanations.

In 1802, a conference of local superiors took place at Rome. Rozaven came from London and Varin from Paris. They were shocked and disturbed with Paccanari's small concern for his personal interior life. In a subsequent journey, Rozaven observed still more faults and he considered it his duty to speak to Pius VII about them. His decision was made and upon his return to London he set out for Polotsk with some of his English companions.

Varin's state of mind was different. He had been impressed by the important results which had been obtained in France, in spite of the paucity of workers, and he concluded that, by that very fact, Providence was inviting him to continue the good work which had been begun. But he concluded, too, that they should separate from Paccanari. Spina was in Paris negotiating the Concordat with the First Consul. Varin consulted him and found that Spina also believed that the break was advisable. Pius VII ratified the decision when he came to Paris to crown Napoleon.

From 1804 on, each of the Societies followed its own des-

tiny. The Paccanarists quickly passed out of existence after their founder had fallen into disgrace. The suspicious conduct of the latter caused his citation to the Holy Office and his condemnation to ten years' imprisonment. He remained in prison until he was released by the French, on their invasion of Rome in 1809, and there is no trace of him after that date.

In France, the Fathers of the Faith—who kept the name which they had taken at the union—enjoyed a better and more enviable fate.[82] The decree of Messidor on June 22, 1804 forced them to begin an undercover existence, and for years they were hounded by the police, a new hue and cry arising every time the wrath of the King and Emperor was provoked by their memory. Nevertheless, cities called on them to open colleges and bishops called on them to evangelize the faithful and preach to the priests of their dioceses. Napoleon's uncle, Cardinal Fesch, protected them openly, even after the decree of Messidor, and after this decree, they were engaged in the education of youth at Belley, Amiens, Montdidier, Roanne and Largentière and continued their apostolic ministries. This state of affairs lasted into 1810 and 1811.

Then Napoleon manifested an extremely hostile attitude toward the clergy. He imprisoned the bishops and put the seminaries under the control of the University. The Fathers of the Faith were in his eyes dangerous papal grenadiers who were not to be trusted, and he ordered that they "be sent back to the dioceses from which they had come." Thus dispersed, Father Varin and his companions could only wait in patience for happier days. They would be ready to spring into action again on that day in 1814 when Pius VII, after his return to Rome, would re-establish the Society of Jesus: Ignatius' conquering spirit dwelt in them.

The Triple "Veni Foras" of Pius VII (1801, 1804, 1814)

Since Pastor's history ends at the conclusion of Pius VI's pontificate, we can no longer draw on his abundant citations of diplomatic material. We are not without reliable sources, however, for the rest of our narrative. Our chief source will be the collection of documents made by Father Gaillard which has been incorporated in the *Summarium Additionale* at-

tached to Father Pignatelli's cause for beatification. This collection will supply us with our most valuable information.

During the French invasion of Italy, the attention of Pius VI had been taken up by the future conclave, and he had drawn up a bull of January 3, 1797 which laid down the conditions which would govern it. A second bull of November 13, 1798 supplanted the preceding one,[83] and negotiations with Vienna succeeded in securing the guarantee of imperial protection for the cardinal electors at Venice.[84]

The thirty-four *porporati* who had sought refuge in Venezia assembled in the Benedictine convent of St. George in Venice on November 30, 1799. Cardinal Hertzan, the Austrian Ambassador to the Holy See, soon joined them and the balloting began immediately. Eighteen votes were cast for Bellisoni on the first balloting, without any previous agreement. Hertzan had been given instructions by his court to secure the election of Mattei without, however, stating openly that Bellisoni was unacceptable. He began, therefore, to see what he could accomplish by diplomatic manœuvering. With the complicity of the Dean, Cardinal Albani, who was weak enough to agree, he hurried a courier off to Vienna to find out what he should do. When no answer came from Vienna, the balloting was begun again. For months, it got nowhere. The cardinals who had voted for Bellisoni were steadfast in their decision, and the cardinals whom Hertzan had rallied behind Mattei refused to change theirs. Then Cardinal Maury, who was tired of this humiliating diplomatic game, took steps to break the impasse. His battles with the Constituent Assembly had made a reputation for him, in the ecclesiastical world at least, and he was practiced in the art of managing assemblies. This time his work would be helped by the skillful support of Consalvi, the Secretary of the Conclave. The two of them were able to persuade the leaders of the opposing factions, Braschi and Antonelli, to give their support to Barnabas Chiaramonti. Their cleverly organized alliance had no difficulty in achieving its object.[85] On March 18, 1800, Chiaramonti was unanimously elected, with the exception of his own vote, and took the name of Pius VII.

He was a Benedictine monk, gentle and pious in character, whose fine mind had been developed by an excellent education.

He had a lofty ideal of the obligations of his state, and was not long in showing his mettle. Austria had given its protection to the conclave and paid the expenses of its maintenance at St. George. She had remained in possession of the Legations[86] after the Austrian and Russian troops had driven the French out of Italy, and she was bold enough to ask the new Pope to retain the *status quo* in regard to them, and to make a trip to Vienna before returning to Rome. Pius VII quietly refused both requests.[87] It was a good beginning for a pontificate which was to experience terrible conflicts.

Although Consalvi's interesting memoirs of the conclave make no mention of the Jesuits, we know that the question was raised at Venice. A good number of the cardinals wanted them to be re-established. The Dean, John Francis Albani, wrote to Father Panizzoni at Parma to have him draw up a memorandum. Panizzoni who was one of the three Italian Jesuits sent by the Vicar-General in White Russia to the Duke of Parma, was well prepared to fulfill his commission. He came to Venice as the bearer of a letter from Ferdinand IV, saw the Pope, read his memorandum and was given a most encouraging reception. The Pope was prepared not only to give his sanction to the existence of the Society in White Russia by a special brief, but he was ready also to re-establish it in any state whose head would make the request. Panizzoni was commissioned to send the apostolic benediction to Polotsk and to give the Vicar-General a reliquary containing some fragments of the true cross.[88]

The Pope gave the same answer he had given to Father Panizzoni to Cardinal Hertzan, when the latter informed him of Francis II's intention to re-establish the Jesuits in his states.[89] The Duke of Parma was not content with conducting his business with Pius VII by letter or through his ambassador. He made the journey to Venice[90] and, on June 1, 1800 he was kneeling at the feet of the new Pope. Naturally, the latter gave his full approval to all that the Duke had done with the secret approbation of Pius VI. Both agreed, moreover, to work in common to bring the court of Madrid to a better way of thinking. In the mind of the new Pope, as in the mind of his late predecessor, Spain remained the obstacle which must be removed at all costs, so that Rome might re-

gain its freedom of action. The Duke of Parma, accordingly, began his campaign by writing to Charles IV, in an effort to persuade him to yield in his opposition to the restoration of the Jesuits. But neither the Holy Father's brief, nor the urgings of Ferdinand could break the unyielding obstinacy of the Spanish monarch.[91]

In White Russia, since Benislawski's *approbo* in 1783, everything seemed to promise a most hopeful future. When Paul I had succeeded his mother in 1794 he had persevered in the good will which had been shown at Polotsk in 1781. There had been good grounds for fear because of the treacherous intrigues of Siestzrencewicz and the prejudice of the nuncio, Litta. But these storm clouds were dispelled in the course of time by the gracious words of Paul I in his visit to the College of Orcha on May 8, 1797 and the final success of Father Gruber's journey to Petersburg during February and May, 1799. The ecclesiastical control of Siestzrencewicz over the Society was abolished. Litta forwarded to Gruber highly encouraging letters which he had received from Marotti. The Czar spoke to Gruber in a familiar and friendly fashion and told him most definitely that he would tolerate no interference with the Institute, and that, if a memorandum were sent him by the Jesuits, he would be most happy to ask Pius VII to confirm the Society in White Russia.[92]

The memorandum was prepared without delay. It consisted of a recapitulation of the vital facts: Clement XIV's brief had never been promulgated in Russia; Pius VI had given his oral approval to that state of affairs; a good number of Jesuits from the foreign provinces would join the Society in White Russia, if a brief of confirmation were given to it; Catherine II had asked for such a brief at the time she was trying to put her Chinese mission scheme into operation;[93] the Duke of Parma had recently taken the same step; the nuncio, Litta, had been given assurance by Marotti, the Pope's secretary, that the brief would be sent, if the Emperor of Russia asked for it. The Emperor put the crowning touch to his years of benevolent protection by obtaining that brief.[94] His journey to Rome in 1782 had made a very strong impression on Paul I, and he retained from it a deep feeling of gratitude toward Pius VI, who had received him most kindly. The Czar had

promised his assistance on December 14, 1798, when the Pope, on being driven from Rome asked for his protection on March 29, 1798, and Suvarov's troops just missed making contact with the prisoner on the slopes of the Alps.[95] It was the Pope who had just been elected at Venice, however, who received the request which the Czar would have liked to have made of Pius VI.[96]

Unfortunately, the Imperial letter had been entrusted to a prelate named Badossi, a brainless braggart, who lingered for months at Vienna, talking in a very self-important way, and trying to give the impression that he was being sent to Rome to negotiate a union between the Churches. A supplication from Father Kareu, the Vicar-General in White Russia, had been enclosed with the Czar's letter.[97] Despite his delay, the messenger whom Father Gruber had unfortunately chosen finally reached the Eternal City. Pius VII himself had not reached it until July 31, 1800 when he made his appearance amid the wild acclaim of his people.

The Spanish diplomats were there, too. They had discovered the new danger to Clement XIV's brief at Vienna, where Badossi had done too much talking. Count de Labrador had put the prime minister at Madrid on his guard on December 10, 1801, before the prelate had even arrived at Rome. The minute Badossi set foot in the Vatican, the ambassador knew exactly why he had come.[98] He saw Consalvi and decided to see the Pope and represent to him "the immense evils which the slightest yielding on the Jesuit question would bring down on the Roman court," and "the firm resolve of the King of Spain to resist by every means at his command the re-establishment of a body" which is so harmful to sound morality and the rights of kings, January 10, 1801.

None of these moves weakened the determination of Pius VII. At the same time that he sent his gracious reply to Paul I on March 9, 1801, he informed Charles IV that he was giving his canonical approval to the Russian Jesuits. Charles IV, who was every bit as stubborn as his late father, sent back the following blunt reply: "I can never agree in allowing the individuals to whom you have referred to incorporate themselves in any of the northern countries, and I assure Your Beatitude that my viewpoint on this matter will never

change." His Queen, although she was the sister of the Duke of Parma, added her name to the King's harsh reply, and developed its theme with a feminine variation of her own, an affected one, we might add, in very dubious taste: "I assure Your Beatitude of my particular affection for your Sacred Person, and my desire that the glory of the visible head of the Church may ever increase, and I assure you also that I wish for you everything that may lead to the veneration and respect (which are your due). In union with my husband, I am equally attached to the policy of firmness which will prevent their being undermined by any such novelty as this. In this way we will assure the welfare of our state and our vassals." To show that these were not empty words, a royal order followed that all the Jesuits who had lately received permission to return to the Peninsula were to be sent back to Italy.[99]

Spain's ill humor had further consequences. The cardinals who had been called into council believed that it would be better to weaken the tenor of the brief of confirmation destined for Father Kareu at Polotsk.

Marotti, who enjoyed the confidence of Pius VII, as before of Pius VI, had made a draft of the brief. He submitted it to Cardinal Leonard Antonelli, whose vivid portrait has come down to us in Consalvi's *Mémoires,* where he is described as a "man whose great integrity and unquestionable ability won the respect of all, but who was liked by no one because of the harshness of his character; whose ambition it was to be the dominant figure in all quarters,"[100] and who, for that very reason, "very seldom praised what other people had done."[101] Antonelli, therefore, rejected Marotti's draft because "the effluvia of the Jesuit mentality rose from every line of it." The Cardinal, doubtless, meant by that, that the brief spoke very highly of the Jesuits, and it was scarcely a cause for wonder that a letter written by Marotti should do so. Antonelli sent the text back to Consalvi with the assurance that it had been given his most careful attention. He requested that the Secretary of State go over it again carefully, and that Gerdil and some other man "of good judgment," like Litta,[102] do likewise. He had also drawn up the brief which was to be sent to Paul I. It may be that the documents which

would show us the results of Antonelli's revisions[103] are still in the Vatican Archives, but, however that may be, the considerations which moved him to make them are not hard to find. Pius VII made them clear in a letter to Charles IV,[104] and Consalvi gave a clearer and longer explanation of them in a lengthy instruction which he sent to Benevenuti, the prelate who had stayed behind at Petersburg when the nuncio, Litta, left.[105] Rome was trying to get around Spain and the Catholic rulers who were hostile to the Society, and though she was acting against the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor,* she wished to avoid coming out against it in direct and open terms. These were the reasons given by Consalvi to justify the "sobriety and circumspection" of the brief, *Catholicae,* and to account for its *amarezze* which might, perhaps, cause the Jesuits of Polotsk pain. Benevenuti was asked to prepare them for the blow.

As often happens, these precautions, for all the trouble they had given, turned out to be quite useless. The court of Madrid did not thank the Pope for his reserve. The King and Queen complained that the Pope had paid no attention to their wishes, and they protested once more that the justest of reasons made it imperative for them to refuse their approval to the existence of the Jesuits, in their own states or anywhere else.[106] At Polotsk, the brief, *Catholicae fidei,* was well received. Father Kareu and Father Gruber sent their expressions of deep and unreserved gratitude to the Holy Father and his minister Consalvi.[107] Pius VII had written a long personal letter in French to Emperor Paul with the intention of disposing him to accept the brief. In it, he informed the Emperor, that he was happy "to fall in with the wise views of Your Imperial Majesty" by granting "a formal sanction to the existence of the Jesuits in Your Majesty's Empire as you requested in your letter."[108]

Consalvi was afraid that the Emperor would take offense at Rome's refusal to grant him the title of Grand Master of the Knights of Malta, and had sent suggestions, either to Father Gruber or Benevenuti, as to how that difficulty could be avoided.[109] Pahlen's band of conspirators, however, solved that problem by assassinating Paul I on the night of March 24, and when Father Gruber broached the subject to his successor,

Czar Alexander, the new Emperor informed him that he had no interest in the title of Grand Master. It may be that Panin's intrigues were able to delay a good many things, but nevertheless, after seventeen months, the original brief which had been sent to Kareu was finally delivered to him with a friendly letter, written in the Emperor's name.[110]

The important point was now won. It was no longer permissible for anyone to question the canonical existence of the Society in a corner of Russian Poland.

The news of Pius VII's action made the round of the European courts. Vienna, Naples and Turin received it with curiosity and sympathy. It brought joy, too, to the former Jesuits, who had witnessed with heartfelt sorrow the death of the Society, by a sentence which they considered without justification. Pius VII was rolling the stone from the tomb and, like the Saviour, he was giving the order: *Veni foras.* The Jesuits, it was true, existed canonically only in the Empire of the Czars, but there were high hopes that these restrictions would soon be lifted.

They had come within an inch of being lifted at Vienna, and they had been lifted in Naples since 1804. In all the houses of White Russia earnest prayers were going up to heaven for the re-establishment of the Society in the form it had had before that fatal day in 1773. Gradually, those prayers were heard.

In Vienna, the unrelenting demands of a Josephist bureaucracy had frustrated Francis II's well-intentioned plans to restore the Society. His ministers had envisioned a corporation of priests, who would live under the rule of St. Ignatius, but who would be subject to episcopal inspection. Their first provincial, moreover, was to be named by the Crown.[111] Pius VII was in Paris at the time for the coronation of Napoleon. Antonelli, who was acting as Secretary of State in Paris, objected to the Austrian scheme but, nevertheless, requested Consalvi to give him his definitive opinion on the matter.[112] Consalvi had already observed that yielding to the Viennese proposal involved the risk of losing all hope of re-establishing the Society in Austria,[113] and so he did nothing more than forward Colloredo's dispatch to Ambassador Khevenhuller.[114] At

this date, Father Angiolini had been at Naples for some time. He had been sent there by Father Gruber, as a sort of procurator general, to conduct negotiations leading to the re-establishment of the Society in that kingdom. From there he sent an impassioned supplication to Pius VII in protest against the *modus vivendi* which Vienna had in mind.[115] Cardinal Michael di Pietro was also consulted. He was a courageous and competent canonist, whose hard work and enlightened counsel had been of great service to the nascent congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, on which he had served since its inception. When Antonelli asked for his advice, he gave a favorable *voto* to the Austrian plan at first, but Angiolini's "spirited and pathetic" supplication was forwarded to him and touched his heart, so that his final conclusion was in the negative.[116] Thus, the project which the minister Colloredo had transmitted from Vienna came to nothing.

Naples' request met with a happier fate. Her king was the same Ferdinand IV who had driven out the Jesuits in 1767. The revolution had taught him to regret his act, and he appealed to the Pope for their return in a respectful letter, with which a supplication from Angiolini was enclosed.[117] Consalvi informed the court of Madrid of the fact through the nuncio, Gravina. Gravina replied that the Prince de la Paz had informed him that Charles IV was not concerned about what had taken place in Naples.[118] Vargas, the Spanish ambassador at Rome, however, had lodged a formal protest with the Cardinal Secretary of State, in which he had stated that the King's views on the subject had in no wise changed. Consalvi naturally asked Gravina for an explanation of this contradiction.[119]

By that time, Spain no longer counted in European politics. At the beginning of the French Revolution, Moñino, and after him, Aranda, had endeavored to follow an anti-French policy. When Manuel Godoy rose, through the favor of the Queen, Maria Luisa, from the position of a member of the personal guard to that of a prime minister, and, after the Treaty of Basle in 1795 was made Prince de la Paz, he made an alliance with the Directory and subsequently with Bonaparte. The latter, in a remarkable blend of diplomatic skill

and arbitrariness, embarked on a high-handed policy toward the Spain which would one day be his ruin. But in 1805 we are still at Trafalgar and on the eve of the odious meeting at Bayonne. It would have been remarkable indeed, at a time when events had made him a plaything in the hands of Napoleon, if Charles IV had spoken to Pius VII as though he were Charles V.

The fact of the matter was that Vargas had acted on outdated instructions, when the first reports of the move at Naples had become public. When Charles IV and Godoy had been informed of Ferdinand's intentions by the Neapolitan ambassador, they had informed him they had no interest in the matter "one way or the other."[120] The King and Queen of Naples, in consequence, opened their states to the Society of Jesus. The Pope, to whom they had written about the matter, gave his benediction to their decision. The papal brief was soon followed by a royal edict.[121] Father Gruber wrote immediately from Petersburg to thank Pius VII and Consalvi for the new extension which had been given to the Order.[122] On August 15, 1804 the Jesuits took possession of the Gesù once more, in a solemn religious ceremony at which Ferdinand and Maria Carolina were present.[123] Pignatelli became superior of the house and his government of it revealed the profound religious spirit, zeal, and lofty ideals which were habitual with him.[124]

Before these ceremonies took place, Alquier, the French minister to Naples did not fail to inform his government of the danger lurking in this Jesuit invasion. After having described Father Angiolini as "a wily, insinuating man and a resourceful schemer of unquestionable ability," he went on to observe:

> A man, whom I know to have a good mind and whose word I can trust offered his congratulations to the procurator general (Father Angiolini) on the success which he had just had in Naples. "Well, you are back in Italy," he said to him, "but there is one fair land which seems to be closed to you forever, and that's France."
>
> "Leave that to the Almighty," answered the Jesuit. "France is a country in which we have many friends. The servants of God and the House of Bourbon are on our side. There are intelligent men at work there preparing our path secretly,[125] and it may be that the day is not far distant when we will play our part in restoring its former lustre to the Church of France."[126]

Alquier concluded his report with the observation that the whole business deserved "most serious attention." Napoleon was quite capable of that sort of attention. Proof of that are the decree of Messidor against the Fathers of the Faith and the orders sent to Joseph to suppress the Jesuits.

Joseph Bonaparte had entered Naples on February 15, 1805. The expulsion of the religious from the country and the confiscation of their property soon followed (July 3). Pius VII, who had just raised the great apostle of Naples, Francis Geronimo, to the honors of the altar, granted the exiled Jesuits a haven in his states. Among these exiles, the most eminent, by reason of his sufferings, his noble birth, and his virtue, was Pignatelli. He had been driven out of Spain by Charles III, out of Corsica by Marbeuf, and out of Parma and later out of Naples by the French. When the valiant Jesuit went to see Pius VII at Rome, both shed tears of sorrow over the doleful past, and encouraged each other by expressions of unshaken hope for the future. Before his death in 1811, this great Spanish Jesuit was to see the French masters of Rome once again, and would have to treat with General Miollis concerning the peace of his last days.[127]

All have read of Napoleon's gigantic effort to make use of his family as a means of circling Europe with a ring of feudal kingdoms from the North Sea to the Strait of Gibraltar. A policy which was such a violent affirmation of his power roused Europe against him. He could imprison the Pope, but he could not avoid the blows of the armies which were leagued against him. The year 1813 witnessed the Russian disaster, the Battle of the Nations at Leipzig, the passage of the last cavalrymen across the Rhine, and the forced surrender, one after the other, of the occupied German towns by every French commander, with the exception of Davoust. At last, Napoleon, at the center of his crumbling Empire, was forced to defend his own frontiers against invasion.

Pius VII, despite his captivity at Fontainebleau, found a means of helping the Jesuits. Father Brzozowski, who had succeeded Father Gruber, sent a request from Polotsk to the Pope for the extension to the Jesuits of England, Ireland, North America and the Near East of the privileges enjoyed

by the restored Society in White Russia and Naples. The pontifical rescript was signed on November 10, 1813 and carried by a Dutchman from Maestricht, Charles Van der Vracken, to the nuncio at Vienna, Severoli, who forwarded it to the General.[128] Thus in spite of the terrible cataclysm which was convulsing Europe, the first steps of the great plan, which Pius VII had conceived after the conclave of Venice, were carried out.

A day came when the Emperor wearied of his gaoler's role. A little before he began his magnificent French campaign, he ordered the Pope to leave Fontainebleau. On April 20, a vanquished Napoleon bade farewell to the Old Guard. By that time, Pius was quietly making his way through the Papal States. He entered Rome on May 24, 1814, amid the cheers of his people. On June 10, after an audience with the Holy Father, the Spanish Jesuit, Father Monzon, wrote to the Duchess of Villahermosa that the Pope was going to re-establish the Society in the entire world.[129] Father Panizzoni had been dogging the Pope's footsteps since his entry into Italy, as we learn from his letters to Angiolini.[130] He had prepared a supplication which was to be presented to the Pope. On June 17, he submitted it, and Pius VII replied that he would accede to it in his own good time.[131]

He had conceived the pious thought of re-establishing the Society on July 31, the Feast of St. Ignatius, and he had said so openly to Pacca. Delays caused by its revision, however, retarded the completion of the bull. Litta's draft was considered too fulsome in its praise; di Pietro's too reserved and harsh; a third draft, written by Pacca or his theologians, was finally given the preference, after Mattei had suggested a few modifications in its text, some of which were adopted. Rome was still most anxious to avoid provoking Spain. She wished also to respect the memory of Clement XIV, and to spare the susceptibilities of the enemies of the Society. Final agreement on the matter was achieved at the last meeting on August 3, over which the Holy Father presided.[132]

On Sunday, August 7, the Octave of the Feast of St. Ignatius, Pius VII came to the Gesù. A huge throng filled the church. The cardinals and some hundred Italian, Spanish and Portuguese Jesuits accompanied the Pope. Pius VII cele-

brated Mass at the altar of St. Ignatius, and then went to the chapel of the Sodality of Nobles. There, before the cardinals and the Jesuits, Monsignor Cristaldi read aloud the bull, *Sollicitudo Omnium Ecclesiarum*, and the Holy Father placed it in the hands of Father Panizzoni. It was an hour filled with great emotion for the sons of St. Ignatius who were present. They had wept over the dead Society, and now Pius VII was calling it to life again by a definitive *Veni foras*. They were aged, for the most part, but their faces and eyes shone with joy as they were permitted, one after another, to make their obeisance to the Pope, who said a few words to each one. The angelic smile of Pius VII removed all trace of the suffering of his captivity from his countenance. As they received the benediction of the Pope who had prevailed against the conqueror of Europe and who was repeating the action of Paul III, those old men, who had lived forty years under proscription, experienced a minute of celestial bliss; and the crowd clapped its hands and cheered Pius VII as he left the church to return to the Quirinal. His voice drowned out the voice of the unfortunate Clement XIV, as it echoed those of the twenty Roman Pontiffs who had showered the Society of Jesus with their blessings and favors since the time of Paul III.

Charles IV and Maria Luisa had been in Rome, as monarchs in exile, since June 18. They had not the courage to be present at the triumph of the Order which they had held in abhorrence. But they visited the Gesù one day, and all the Spanish Jesuits who were in Rome came to kiss their hands. One of them related how tears sprang to the King's eyes more than once during that visit, and we can surmise the sad and heavy thoughts which must have weighed on the soul of Charles III's son.

The Prince de la Paz remarked to Father Gaspar Sanchez on that occasion, "Your order will soon return to Spain."[133] That was true. On July 15, 1814 Ferdinand VII (who was back in Madrid since the month of March) asked the Pope for his opinion on the re-establishment of the Society in the Peninsula. Pius VII encouraged the King to make a formal request. The royal edict appeared on May 29, 1815 after the usual delay in the Council of Castile. Later, the minister,

Casa Trujo, requested the Spanish ambassador at Petersburg to ask for fifty subjects for South America. Vargas supported the action of the ambassador by making the same request of the Holy See. The Father General (who was still held in Russia by the suspicious government) responded to the request, as far as his means would allow, by sending seven Fathers.[134] Charles III's mistake had been repaired, as far as it could be by so unreliable a king as Ferdinand VII.

One after the other, the European provinces were established and then the foreign missions. Fifty years after Pius VII's act of reparation, the Society of Jesus numbered more than seven thousand religious, scattered through the Old and New Worlds. Her professors had brought an excellent reputation to the numerous colleges in which they were teaching; her missionaries were winning new lands for the gospel and, before long, her theologians would be serving on the Vatican commissions and drafting conciliar definitions. All her sons would unite their efforts to bring about the splendid achievements of the reign of the immortal Pius IX, of whom Leo XIII would say, in his first consistorial allocution, *"Universam Ecclesiam amore et admiratione sui complevit."*

NOTES

This article was translated from *Revue des Questions Historiques*, vol. 67, pp. 21-59, by Father Gerald McCool.

[1] Pastor, *Storia dei Papi*, XVI, 3° parte, 5-6.

[2] *Ibid.*, 7.

[3] *Ibid.*, 7, 10-18.

[4] Pastor, 15, 17-18; Pacheco y de Leyva, *El conclave de 1774*, 470-485. Dispatches of Solis to Grimaldi, February 10 and 12, 1775; of Grimaldi to Solis, February 28. Father March has given a very exact account of this affair in an article in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, 1925, 264.

[5] *Storia*, XVI, II, 321-323. Crétineau-Joly, V, 463; Zaleski, I, 203.

[6] For example, the letters of Frederick to Voltaire on March 17, 1759, January 1, 1765, January 8 and November 25, 1766, January 18, 1776, February 10, 1777.

[7] Letter of August 3, 1775.

[8] Letter of December 1, 1773.

[9] Letter of November 18, 1773.

[10] *Storia*, XVI, II, 325-327, 329-330.

[11] Sebastiano Sanguinetti, *La Compagnie de Jésus et Son Existence Canonique dans l'Église*, 261-272.

[12] *Storia*, XVI, II, 332, 334.

[13] *Ibid.*, 333-334.

[14] *Ibid.*, 334-336.

[15] *Storia*, XVI, III, 140-143.

[16] *Ibid.*, 144-145.

[17] *Ibid.*, 156-158.

[18] *Ibid.*, 156-160.

[19] *Ibid.*, 146-153.

[20] *Ibid.*, 154-161.

[21] *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, V, 470-535.

[22] *La Compagnie de Jésus Conservée en Russie; Un Nonce du Pape à la Cour de Catherine II.*

[23] *Les Jésuites de la Russie-Blanche*, I, 239-432.

[24] *La Russie et le Saint-Siege*, V.

[25] *Summarium Additionale*, I, 88-147.

[26] XVI, III, 162-240.

[27] Zaleski, I, 257-263.

[28] Text in Zaleski, I, 249.

[29] Text in Zaleski, I, 451, and in *Summarium Additionale*, I, 88.

[30] Zaleski, I, 243-246; Crétineau-Joly, V. 472-473; *Summ. Addit.*, I, 89; *Storia*, XVI, III, 168-169; Pierling, V, 53. Czerniewicz gives the text of Catherine's answer to his supplication in his letter to Garampi.

[31] Text in the *Summarium Additionale*, I, 90-91.

[32] Zaleski, I, 268-269; *Storia*, XVI, III, 169.

[33] Was there a private letter from Clement XIV to Catherine II which authorized her to leave the Jesuits in her states as they were? There were frequent assertions that this was the case in the newspapers of that period. Joseph II said that he had seen the letter and on one occasion he made that assertion to the Duke of Parma in the presence of the Marquis of Rosales. Cardinal John Francis Albani, Father Panizzoni and Father Lustyg (*Summ. Add.* I, 31, 37, 39) mentioned the letter as well. Father Zaleski believes in the existence of the letter (I, 283-289). Father Duhr is of the opposite opinion (*Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, 193-14 458-469). Pastor is on the same side of the question as Father Duhr. I wrote to Father Pierling about the question at the end of January, 1901. Father Pierling replied that the Grand Duke who was in charge of historical documents would be in Paris shortly. His Highness would be requested to look for the document in the Imperial Archives. The Grand Duke very kindly agreed to do so, and a few months after his return to Russia, stated that he had found no trace of the papal document either in St. Petersburg or Moscow.

[34] Text of the dispatches in *Summarium Additionale*, I, 98-100; Zaleski, I, 275-279.

[35] Letters of April 24, August 7, October 3, 1777.

[36] *Storia*, XVI, III, 178-179.

[37] *Ibid.*, 191. Letters of December 20, 1777; January 21, 1778; February 28, 1779.

[38] Zaleski, I, 318-319.

[39] Zaleski, I, 191. Letters of June 4, 1778 and August 15, 1778.

[40] *Ibid.*, 191-193. Text of the decree of Propaganda in the Pastoral Letter and of the Pastoral Letter of June 29, 1779 in the *Summarium Additionale*, 124-127.

[41] *Storia*, 197.

[42] *Ibid.*, 198-199. Text of the letter (September 13, 1779) in the *Summarium Additionale*, 128-129. Text of the letter from the Bishop of Mallo to Stackelberg (November 1, 1779). *Ibid.*, 131-136.

[43] *Storia*, 201.

[44] *Ibid.*, 203, 205-207.

[45] *Ibid.*, 204.

[46] *Ibid.*, 211.

[47] *Ibid.*, 211-212; Zaleski, I, 350-352. This journey took place in June, 1780.

[48] *Ibid.*, 214. Letters of March 5 and 26, 1781.

[49] *Ibid.*, 220. After consulting with a number of Roman Jesuits, Father Korycki set it down as his basic principle that, since the Society had not been dissolved in Poland, there was no reason why it should not be governed according to the Constitutions.

[50] *Ibid.*, 221-223. The date of Pius VI's briefs is January 29, 1783. Briefs of the same character were sent to the Queen of Portugal on February 20 and to King Ferdinand of Naples.

[51] *Ibid.*, Letters of March 7 and July 4, 1782.

[52] *Ibid.*, 219. Letters of November 15 and 30, 1782.

[53] *Ibid.*, 222. Letter of January 11, 1783.

[54] *Ibid.*, 223-224.

[55] *Ibid.*, 224-226; Zaleski, I, 381-389. Text of Benislawski's memorandum in the *Summarium Additionale*, I, 137-145.

[56] *Ibid.*, 226-230; Zaleski, I, 389-399. Benislawski gives an account of his first audience in a letter to Potemkin. Pastor quotes some lines from it (p. 225). The text of Benislawski's memorandum to Pius VI can be found in the *Summarium Additionale* (p. 146); and there, too, we can find the texts of the declaration written in Benislawski's own hand and signed by him at Polotsk (p. 146), of Czerniewicz's circular letter on the triple *approbo* (p. 147-151), and Pallavicini's letter to the nuncio at Madrid concerning the secret brief sent to Charles III (p. 151-153).

[57] The following is the list of Vicars-General in White Russia: Stanislaus Czerniewicz (October 17, 1782-July 7, 1785), Gabriel Lenkiewicz (September 22, 1785-November 10, 1798), Xavier Kareu (January 1, 1799-July 30, 1802), Gabriel Gruber (October 10, 1802-March 26, 1805), Thaddaeus Brzozowski (September 2, 1805-February 5, 1820).

[58] Crétineau-Joly, X, 497-501; Zaleski, II, 53-115.

[59] Regnault, *Christophe de Beaumont*, II.

[60] *Storia*, XVI, III, 244-245; 245-246.

[61] *Storia*, XVI, III, 246-253.

[62] Texts in *Summarium Additionale*, II, 1-5. Letters of January 26, February 20, April 20, May 8, 1787.

[63] Texts in *Summarium Additionale*, II, 8-20. Letters of July 23, December 22, 1793; I, 1-3, replies of Pius VI (May 23, 1783) and Catherine II (November 13, 1793).

[64] *Ibid.*, II, 21-27. Letter of January 20, 1794.

[65] *Summarium Additionale*, I, 4-5. Brief of February 15, 1794.

[66] *Ibid.*, I, 7-10.

[67] *Ibid.*, I, 12. Brief of August 9, 1794.

[68] Texts in *Summarium Additionale*, II, 30-34. Letters of Azara, February 19 and 26, 1794; two letters of the Duke de la Alcudia, March 11, 1794.

[69] Cf. the text of these letters in *Summarium Additionale*, II, 36-56. Letters of April 5, 10, 29; May 23; June 17; July 25; September 1 and 7; October 30; November 11; December 1 and 30, 1794; January 30, 1795.

[70] Texts in *Summarium Additionale*, I, 43-48. Briefs of August 15, September 20, November 1, 1794; June 27 and September 17, 1797.

[71] Canon Gendry, *Pie VI, Sa Vie, Son Pontificat*, II, 300-308, 314-328, 378-384, 406-426.

[72] *Summarium Additionale*, I, 19-21. Litta's letter is the only one to be found in this collection. Father Pierling has published its complete text in *À Propos du Centenaire du Rétablissement des Jésuites*, 27-35. The author of this little work has collected the letters which Marotti wrote to various people on the subject of White Russia from 1800 to 1803.

[73] *Ibid.*, I, 24-25.

[74] *Ibid.*, I, 25-26.

[75] The Cardinal believed in the existence of a letter from Clement XIV to Catherine II.

[76] *Ibid.*, I, 28-31.

[77] Canon Gendry confined himself to the use of diplomatic dispatches in his two volumes on Pius VI. He failed to grasp the importance of the Jesuit documents which were published before 1900, and was unaware of the ones we are dealing with here. In consequence, his treatment of the Fathers of White Russia is inaccurate.

[78] Cf. Father Jacques Terrien on Clorivière.

[79] The Abbé Langlois published this memoir in the *Revue des Études Historiques*, April-June, 1922.

[80] My reasons for so believing are given at further length in *Études*, July 20, 1922, 213-216.

[81] Cf. Guidée, *Vie du P. Varin, Vie du P. Sellier, Notices sur Quelques Membres de la Société du Sacré-Coeur.*

[82] I have described their work and their sufferings as they are found in the accounts in the archives in *Études*, March 5, July 5, October 20, 1902; August 20, 1903; September 5, 1907.

[83] Gendry, *Pie VI*, II, 325-328, gives the letters in more detail than Pastor.

[84] Pastor, XVI, III, 656.

[85] *Mémoires de Consalvi* (Ed. Crétineau-Joly), I, 218-284; Maury,

Mémoires, I, 183-375; Artaud de Montor, *Histoire du Pape, Pie VI*, I, xxx, 80-106.

[86] The Treaty of Campoformio had given the Legations to Austria.

[87] *Mémoires de Consalvi*, I, 293-301.

[88] Zaleski, II, 79-81. The text of this memorandum is missing.

[89] *Summarium Additionale*, II, 59-66. Text of Thugut's letters to Hertzan, March 20 and 26, 1800, and of Hertzan's to Thugut, April 16 and 23, 1800.

[90] The Pope had written to the Prince on April 25, 1800 in answer to the letter brought by Father Panizzoni. (*Mémoires de Consalvi*, I, 315).

[91] *Summarium Additionale*, II, 47-72. Letters of Ferdinand to Charles IV, October 14, November 13, 1800; of Charles IV to Ferdinand, October 15, 1800; of Pius VII to Charles IV, December 10, 1800 (*Ibid.*, I, 156-159); letter of Charles IV to Pius VII, October 8, 1800.

[92] Zaleski, II, 57-77.

[93] For Catherine's plans in 1792 cf. Zaleski, I, 426-427. Father Gruber even wrote to the Jesuits in Pekin on that subject. The plan came to nothing.

[94] Zaleski, II, 76.

[95] *Storia*, XVI, III, 652.

[96] Text in Crétineau-Joly, V, 408; in Zaleski, II, 84; in Pierling, *op. cit.*, 17.

[97] Text of Paul I's letter (August 10, 1800) in Crétineau-Joly, V, 408; in Zaleski, II, 84; text of Kareu's supplication (July 31, 1800) in *Summarium Additionale*, I, 72-73.

[98] Text of the dispatch in *Summarium Additionale*, I, 74-77.

[99] Text in *Summarium Additionale*, I, 97-101. Letters of the King and Queen, March 15, 1800; Dispatch of March 25, 1800. Consalvi is incorrect when he says in his *Mémoires* (II, 317) that Charles IV did not object to the Pope's plan.

[100] *Mémoires*, I, 247.

[101] *Ibid.*, I, 271.

[102] *Summarium Additionale*, I, 80-81. Antonelli to Consalvi, January 31, 1801.

[103] Text, *Ibid.*, I, 74. Brief of March 9, 1800.

[104] *Summarium Additionale*, II, 101-103. Briefs of April 10, 1801 to the King and Queen of Spain.

[105] *Summarium Additionale*, I, 69-70. Letter of March 9; II, 83. Instruction of March 9, 1801.

[106] *Ibid.*, II, 97-100. Letters of the King and Queen, May 15, 1801; letter of the same date from the minister, Covallas, to Charles IV.

[107] *Ibid.*, II, 130-131. Letters of Kareu to Pius VII and to Consalvi, June 26, 1801.

[108] *Summarium Additionale*, I, 74-75.

[109] *Ibid.*, II, 83-95. Instruction of March 9, 1801.

[110] *Ibid.*, II, Gruber to Consalvi, September 12, 1802.

[111] *Ibid.*, I, 169. Colloredo to Khevenhuller, December, 1804.

[112] *Ibid.*, I, 173-179. Letter of March 2, 1815.
[113] *Ibid.*, I, 169-172. Letter of January 5, 1805.
[114] *Ibid.*, I, 180. Letter of March 27, 1805.
[115] *Ibid.*, I, 181-183. January 22, 1805.
[116] *Ibid.*, I, 185-191. February 14, 1815.
[117] *Ibid.*, II, 151-153.
[118] *Ibid.*, 163-164. Letters of May 16 and June 15, 1804.
[119] *Ibid.*, 165-168. Letters of July 6 and 15, 1804.
[120] *Ibid.*, II, 169. Angiolini to Consalvi, July 21, 1804.
[121] Texts in Crétineau-Joly, V, 509-511.
[122] *Summarium Additionale*, II, 172-182. Edict of the King, August 6; the King to Pius VII, August 14; Gruber to Pius VII and to Consalvi, September 15, 1809.
[123] Zaleski, II, 389-390. Letter on the events at Naples. Crétineau-Joly, V, 512-513. Article in *Débats* on the same subject.
[124] *Nonell*, III, 12-109.
[125] An allusion to the Fathers of the Faith.
[126] I have given extensive quotations from that dispatch of Alquier to Talleyrand (27 Ventôse, Year XII) in my article on the origins of the Decree of Messidor. (*Études*, July 5, 1902.)
[127] Nonell, *Pignatelli*, III, 111, 142, 173, 221, 229.
[128] Albers, S.J., *Liber Saecularis*, 179; *Summarium Additionale*, I, 200-204. Severoli's rescript, December 24, 1813; Severoli to Pacca, August 1, 1814; Zaleski, II, 200. Letter of Father Brzozowski, communicating the news to his subjects (January 13, 1814).
[129] Nonell, III, 303.
[130] Albers, *Liber Saecularis*, 20.
[131] Albers, *Liber Saecularis*, 21.
[132] *Ibid.*, 23-26.
[133] Nonell, III, 297-300.
[134] *Summarium Additionale*, II, 183-215. Ferdinand to Pius VII, July 15, 1814; Pacca to Consalvi, October 8; Pius VII to Ferdinand, December 15; Ferdinand to Pius VII, January 15, 1815; nuncio at Madrid to Pacca, January 15, May 31; Ferdinand to Pius VII, June 1; Pius VII to Ferdinand, July 2; Vargas to Consalvi, March 5, 1819; Circ. Brzozowski, July 7.

Note to Contributors

It would be well when submitting contributions to the WOODSTOCK LETTERS to observe the following: type *triple* space, leaving a one-inch margin on either side of the page, i.e., approximately sixty spaces to a line. This will aid greatly in determining ahead of time the length of articles submitted to us, and leaves sufficient room for the insertion of printing directions. Subheadings should also be used, at least one to every other page, in articles and Historical Notes.

THE NEW RUSSIAN CENTER IN FORDHAM UNIVERSITY

FREDERICK WILCOCK, S.J.

On December 9, 1951 we celebrated the official opening of our new Russian Center. It was a simple quiet ceremony. The Provincial of the New York Province, Father John McMahon, the Rector of the University, Father Laurence McGinley, and other superiors came to the blessing of the house and my official inauguration as superior.

The plan to open a Russian Center in the States was decided on in late 1949. I was in a refugee camp in the Philippines with sixty-five hundred Russians when Father General called me to Rome to study the project. He decided that we should open a house of the Russian rite, preferably in New York, with about fifteen bedrooms, a chapel, library, and the other community rooms. Four Fathers who had been working among the Russians in Shanghai and were now scattered, were to start the new community. They were Father F. Brannigan (English Province), Father M. Meyers (Chicago Province), Father A. Ouroussoff (Roman Province) and myself (English Province). Later we were joined by Father E. O'Kane (Chicago Province) and Father N. Bock (Roman Province). Soon we expect a Czechoslovak lay-brother and another Father.

The work proposed for the Center was: 1) to develop a Russian faculty at Fordham or some other big Catholic University, 2) to produce books in Russian and also in English on Russian questions, 3) to be a Catholic center of information on the Russian Apostolate, 4) to train priests and others for the Russian Apostolate, 5) to lecture on Russia and the Eastern rites anywhere in the States, 6) to do relief work among the Russian DP's, and 7) to keep contact with the Russian Orthodox, and engage in any other Russian activities.

Everyone agreed that New York was the ideal site for such a Center. It was also agreed that we should be near Fordham University; for fourteen years it has sponsored the Fordham Conferences on Eastern Rites, and it was just opening an Institute of Russian studies. But there arose a big difficulty about getting a house in New York, and for some time it looked as if we would have to choose some other city.

In January, 1951 just after my arrival from Rome, a clearly providential solution appeared. The Rector of Fordham University generously offered the use of a large army barracks on the campus when it would be evacuated by the students, who were waiting for a new dormitory to be completed. The barracks were solid, but needed a thorough overhaul. It could not be our permanent home, but was quite suitable for a beginning. In two or three years we would have to find another place to build. His Eminence, Cardinal Spellman, and our Jesuit superiors gave their approval; so when the students moved out in November, 1951 we moved in. After removing some partitions between rooms to make a chapel, library, etc., we found ourselves with exactly fifteen bedrooms. This was just the size and the ideal location which in Rome had been decided on as the best for our work. Surely this was providential and showed how God's blessing has been on this work, from the very beginning. Similarly, when I had asked in Rome for some financial help to start this work, they had answered that they were unable to give anything at that time, but they assured me that God would bless such an important work and everything would be all right. They also pointed out that American Catholics would quickly realize its importance and would never let it down. They were quite right, as experience has shown.

We had the building free of rent from the University, together with much necessary furniture. A number of people all over the States sent furniture and other equipment, so we already have all the essentials for the community. For the library we had rescued many of our books from Shanghai and were lent a valuable collection of Russian books from Rome. We have also over a thousand books in English on Russia. The chapel is, of course, in pure Russian style, with over a hundred Icons and other equipment which we managed to get out of Shanghai just in time. The chapel has an Iconostasis built by some New York Russians and has a typical Russian cupola at the entrance. The house is in the form of a "T", with three wings. One wing is the cloister for the community, the second has offices and guest rooms, and the third has the chapel, library, dining room and kitchen. In general, one may say that army huts can be adapted quite well to a Jesuit residence.

The Institute in Action

Already our activities follow almost exactly the plan which was made in Rome. Two Fathers teach in the Russian Institute of the University which offers a very full course in Russian language, literature, history, philosophy, religion, etc. It is the only Institute of this kind in any Catholic university. We are all busy writing Russian and English works. Frequently, we are invited to lecture in all parts of the country; practically every day one of our Fathers is lecturing somewhere. Incidentally, this is our main source of income. We also give talks over the radio. From all over the States and from abroad, people are applying to us for information on Russian questions. We are directing several candidates for the priesthood. Russian DP's turn to us for help and advice, and we do what we can for them. With all these activities you can realize that we are always kept busy.

Our plans are definitely long range. We do not expect to see results immediately. Human nature is impatient and finds it hard to wait for God's moment. However, our duty is to make the normal preparations so that when God's moment comes we are ready. At this moment the Catholic Apostolate for Russia is not ready. Very few priests have been trained for this work. We have hardly any Catholic books in Russian, and not even a children's catechism. Why? The chief cause has been lack of means. Most of the priests trained for the Russian Apostolate have been working among the poorest DP's and were overwhelmed with pleas for food and clothing and other urgent necessities of these unfortunates. They could not think of spending anything on printing books or for other long range preparations. Anyone who sees their work cannot help but admire it and agree with them. Such long range preparation can only be done here in the States. If we do not get it done, then nobody will, and when the propitious moment comes we will be unprepared. Meanwhile in the States, the Y.M.C.A. and other non-Catholics have printed hundreds of beautiful religious books in Russian. However, it will not be too late if we get down to it now. The work of our new Russian Center in the States is really urgent.

I mentioned above that four of our Fathers came here from Shanghai. In Shanghai before the war there was a big Rus-

sian colony of about thirty thousand, living mostly in the French Concession. We had a parish among them and opened a boarding school for boys. The Irish Columban Sisters had a school for Russian girls. The work was interrupted during the war when the Fathers were taken to Japanese camps. This experience ruined the health of one of the Fathers, Father H. Milner, who died in Ireland last year. He was a wonderful priest and much loved by the Russians and everyone else. We had hoped that he would work with us in this Center, but God took him to his reward.

When the Communists approached Shanghai early in 1949, most of the Russians managed to get out in time. It became clear that there would be no work left for us if we remained, so we were told to go with the refugees. The Philippine Islands offered them a temporary home on the small island of Tubaldao in Samar. Sixty-five hundred of them went there, and Father A. Ouroussoff and I joined them. Father F. Brannigan went to San Francisco to await a new appointment.

In the Philippines we found ourselves in a camp in the jungle, living in old United States army surplus tents. Life was very primitive at first, but gradually, with hard work, a little Russian town grew up in the jungle. We built a church out of tents and trained a choir. There was a great deal of work to be done, such as teaching the children and helping people to get to some permanent home in other countries. For a time, I was chosen director of the camp. Eventually, two thousand of the people were resettled in Australia, thirty-five hundred in the United States, others in San Domingo, Paraguay, France and other countries. Very few are still left in the Philippines.

The Institute's Personnel

In June, 1949 Father Ouroussoff fell seriously ill and had to be sent to a hospital in Manila. Afterwards, he came to the States to recuperate and to work with the New Russian Institute in Fordham. A real Moscow Russian, he entered the Catholic Church in 1935, became a Jesuit in 1939, and was ordained a priest in 1946. He now teaches at the Russian Institute and does research work on modern Russian ques-

tions. He has been invited to lecture in cities all over the States.

Father Maurice Meyers entered our Russian Mission after philosophy (the usual time for those entering this work) in 1936. He was at the Russian College and the Gregorian University till 1939, when Americans were ordered to leave Italy. He was ordained deacon and sent to Shanghai via Baghdad and other devious routes. He finished theology at the Zikawei Scholasticate and then taught at our Russian school. During the Japanese occupation he was interned in Zikawei, where he was able to make his tertianship. In 1948, he returned to the States to study with the Russian faculty of Columbia University.

Father Fionan Brannigan had tried to enter the Society in a Slav Province, so that he could work more directly for Russia, but this proved impractical. In 1923, he entered the English Province, but was not applied to the Russian Mission till 1946, and a year later he was sent to Shanghai. When our Mission closed there, he went to San Francisco and was there till our Center opened.

Our Father Minister, Father E. O'Kane, was not in Shanghai, but came to us direct from the Russian College in Rome, where he had been studying for a year. From the Russian College also came Father Nikolai Bock, an elderly Russian. During the Czarist regime, he was in the diplomatic corps and was the last acting Minister for Russia to the Vatican. In this capacity, he knew the present Holy Father very well personally. The victory of the Bolshevists in 1917 left him stranded, so he went to France and then the Japanese government offered him a position as a professor in Japan. There he became a Catholic, and eventually asked to become a priest. His old friend, who was now the Pope, arranged everything for him, and he was ordained in Rome in 1948. He then entered the Society and taught at the Russian College in Rome. In February of this year he joined us.

Father John Ryder, who works in Los Angeles and San Francisco, is also a member of our community. He entered this work with me in 1931, and after our tertianship together in Tronchiennes under Father Janssens was sent to Esthonia. He was sent to Los Angeles in 1938 and has worked there since that time.

Our second rule about travelling to diverse places certainly seems aimed at our Fathers of the Russian Mission, as can be seen from the above examples. My own case is very similar. After tertianship, I was sent to Poland for a time, then Belgium again, then in 1938 to Shanghai and for a time to Harbin in Manchuria (where there were eighty thousand Russians). After living in the Philippine camp and returning to Rome, I visited the various Russian works in Europe and came here in January, 1951.

The above should give some idea of our community and of this new Russian work.

All the main works for Russia are at present run by the Society. The main ones are: the Russian College in Rome, a seminary for secular priests; St. George's boarding school for boys at Meudon just outside Paris; a parish and small school in Buenos Aires. A center similar to ours is to be opened soon at Munich in Germany.

One note characteristic of the Society is that we take on any urgent work of the Church which nobody else is doing. We are the shock troops of the Church, ready to fill any breach in the line. If the Society does not take on this Russian work, nobody will. During the past few years about a hundred Jesuits have been transferred to the oriental rites, most of them to the Russian rite. Of these two were Americans, but one of them, Father Walter Ciszek (Maryland Province), died in Russia just after the war. But when the auspicious moment arrives for work in Russia, what are one hundred priests (some of them old and sick) for such a tremendous apostolate? In his last letter to me, Father General wrote that he considered it "magni momenti ut in futuro nostri scholastici, quaestione orientali attracti, studia sive linguae russicae sive historiae in Instituto Fordhamensi peragant."

The Society owes a great debt to Russia, so it is only suitable that we should lead in this work for its salvation.

HISTORICAL NOTES

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS AS A BASE FOR THE CHINA MISSIONS

It is more or less traditional in the Society of Jesus, in time of persecution, for members of one province or mission to be driven out of their normal pursuits in that field, then to establish themselves somewhere else and there carry on their work *Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam.* We have scores of such examples. In the past the Philippines were closely connected with the China missions, so much so that we read: "By 1589 Father Aquaviva had come to the general conclusion that the Society should be established in the Philippines which should not be considered merely as a base for Chinese and Japanese missions." And one of the recommendations submitted to Father General for the selection of subjects for the Islands in those days was: "They must have their minds fixed on the Philippines and divest themselves of all ideas of China and Japan."

In 1948-49, as the Communists swept triumphantly down through China, formal orders came from Rome that the Catholic missionaries were not to abandon that country. This was interpreted as referring especially to priests, who would be able to carry on their apostolic activities, at least for some time, under the Reds. But what about those still in formation—seminarists, Jesuit novices, juniors, philosophers? The consensus of opinion was that these future priests should, as far as possible, be educated abroad in more peaceful surroundings, so that when the proper time came they might be thrown into the battle for Christ as replacements for those who had been left behind in China to carry on the heroic struggle under the Red regime.

The Philippines were not at first considered in this program. Reverend Father Francis Burkhardt, S.J., official Visitor of the Jesuits in China, left on April 5, 1949 for Macao to look into the possibilities of opening there the Chabanel Language School, which had left its home in Peiping and was functioning temporarily in Shanghai. In the month of May he decided that the next first-year language recruits would begin studying at Macao in buildings offered by Monsignor Ramalho,

S.J.; but a couple of weeks later this decision had to be changed because eighteen hundred Portuguese refugees from Shanghai were given leave to use the buildings.

The Search for a House of Studies

Then began a simultaneous quest in three countries for a suitable location for Chabanel. Father John Desautels, who had been named the school's superior, began negotiations with the California Provincial, Very Reverend Joseph O'Brien, who offered him the use of Phelan Park, the theologians' villa at Santa Cruz on Monterey Bay in California. After visiting the site on June 23, Father Desautels believed it could, with some alterations, be made suitable for the purpose envisaged. In the meantime, Father Paul Pfister was exploring the possibilities of a site in Japan, and Father Albert O'Hara was looking for one in the Philippines. Father O'Hara, aided by Very Reverend Leo Cullum, Superior of the Philippine Mission, discovered a magnificent government-owned summer camp at Los Baños, not far from where so many New York Jesuits had been interned during the Pacific War. It would cost $750.00 per month to rent it, if they could get a favorable reply from the government authorities.

Father Desautels arrived in Manila on September 1, 1949 to learn that hopes for the Los Baños site had been dashed by the government's definite refusal to part with it. It was then decided that, with Father General's permission, the first year of the language school would be in California, at Phelan Park, from which the community would be transported to the Philippines if and when a suitable location had been secured. But on September 14 Father Cullum found a former prison camp at Mandaluyung, some four miles outside the city of Manila. It had been used first for American and later for Japanese prisoners of war, and was still surrounded by barbed wire, with a high platform topped by a guard's penthouse overlooking the enclosure. There were some twenty-four military barracks in a more or less dilapidated condition, arranged symmetrically on either side of a banana-lined boardwalk raised a foot or so from the good earth.

Impressed with the possibilities, Father Desautels and Father O'Hara decided it should be secured at once, for the

Chinese seminarists, badly overcrowded at Araneta Farm, could wait no longer for a permanent place. But the eight buildings set aside for the language school were in such bad repair that they thought it would be impossible to have them ready for the Chabanel students that year, and suggested to Father Burkhardt that freshman language students should start at Phelan Park in California, as had been planned, with the prospect of moving out to the Philippines for their second year. But at that juncture, Father General wrote saying it would be better not to open in America if it was at all possible to find a suitable location either in the Philippines or in Java. Hence, the final decision was to begin getting the barracks in condition at once, even if the opening of classes should have to be delayed.

One big difficulty was, how to obtain student visas for all the incoming pupils, since the school did not yet officially exist. The only means for doing this quickly was to affiliate Chabanel to some institution already recognized by the Philippine government. After consulting the Board of Education, the superiors decided to join Chabanel to the San José Pontifical Seminary. On the night of September 16 letters of recommendation were sent out to the future first-year pupils, and on September 19 the work of reconstructing the barracks began under the direction of Father Desautels. Fortunately the United States Army had put in excellent water and sewage systems. The first contractor who started on the rehabilitation project brought around a dozen men who claimed to be carpenters but evidently were not. The work progressed so slowly that it soon had to be turned over to an established company.

By October 26 the seminarists were able to move from Araneta Farm to Mandaluyung, and the next morning, with the transfer of Father Desautels from Xavier House, the residence of the mission superior, Maison Chabanel was formally opened in the Philippines. The first group of language students arrived on November 1, the second on November 4, and the third on November 11. Soon Jesuit students from Spain, Canada, France, Italy, Austria, South America, Mexico and the United States were puzzling away at Chinese.

Pioneers at Mandaluyung

A New York Jesuit recently expressed amazement at the progress made in a year and a half at Mandaluyung. "Those Chinese missionaries came here without a thing," he said, "but it didn't seem to bother them. They went to work smiling, and now they have built up quite an institution."

He did not know all the inside story though. Some of those courageous young language students who stepped into Chabanel that first day were a bit appalled. They had made a generous offering of their lives for the China missions, but they had not at all expected that the first step would be exactly like this: a room, yes; a bed, yes; a mosquito net, yes. But not everyone had a chair; very few had a table; and there were other things, once considered essential, that nobody had. It was up to each one to complete the furnishing of his own room. There was plenty of wood on the property and hammer and nails were available. Little by little the rooms were equipped with everything that is normally considered necessary for the modern young Jesuit. Yet even today his quarters are the closest thing to living in the open air that one can imagine, with not only the wide window but the whole lower side of each room open to the elements. The newcomer instinctively shivered at the thought: "This will be pretty drafty in winter, won't it?" He had heard, but still could not believe, that the tropical temperature he was experiencing was *almost* the same the year round, with nights a bit cooler in the "cool dry season." The winter problem will never be one of, "What's wrong with the central heating?" but of, "How to keep cool in December?" After a month or so the changelessness of the temperature made some of the newcomers a bit panicky. They had never lived through a year quite like one in the Philippines, and did not know at first whether they would be able to stand twelve months of summer. The aging members of the faculty though, enjoyed the prospect. For the first time in their lives they would not have to suffer misery from drastic seasonal changes.

So on November 14 the Chinese classes began, only a month later than the traditional date for opening at Peiping. Un-

fortunately, it had been impossible to obtain visas for the fine Peiping staff of Chinese lay-professors, because the Philippine government was not anxious to have any more Chinese in the country. Hence, Father Benjamin Mendiburu, a Spaniard, was in charge of all the classes. He had to put his lessons on a wire recorder so as to give his pupils a chance to go over them privately. It was not until November 23 that a native-born Chinese teacher, Mr. Ch'en, was secured. He was an elderly man who knew not a word of English, French or Latin, and who found it hard to adapt himself to the difficulties of his pupils.

The new minister, Father William Klement, arrived from California on January 8 and kept the work crews busy putting buildings and grounds in order.

Summer vacations begin early in the Philippines. It was important to secure a villa house to keep the health and the morale of the men in good condition. Whereas it had been impossible to rent the Los Baños property for a year-round language school, arrangements were made to get it for a couple of months in the summer. It was a magnificent spot, formerly occupied by American naval officers and their families, and during the war the Japanese General Headquarters had been located there. Tall overhanging acacias shaded well-screened bungalows from the summer heat. A basket-ball court and a swimming pool gave ample opportunity for exercise. A few days before the villa was scheduled to begin, the Huks staged a raid on Los Baños, and the jungle-covered mountains across the highway from the villa were put out of bounds by the army. Nevertheless, the language-school students and faculty were there on the first day of the major vacation. The community took a prominent part in the colorful Holy Week ceremonies, much to the delight of the Los Baños faithful and their genial pastor, who had never had so many Fathers and Scholastics whom he could call on Sunday after Sunday for special Masses, sermons and singing. Later the Chinese juniors came from Araneta Farm, and this gave an excellent opportunity to the language students for practising their newly acquired Chinese vocabulary.

Philosophate Established

Reverend Father Paul O'Brien, Visitor in charge of all Jesuit China missionaries outside of China, arrived from Communist Shanghai on April 24. Soon the important decision was made to establish the philosophate also at Chabanel. Shortly afterwards, on May 9, work on a large and airy new chapel began, and most of the community shared some way in its construction or ornamentation. The ever-growing community was further enlarged on June 1, when a group who had just finished their juniorate at Araneta Farm arrived to start their philosophy.

Some thieves made a determined effort on the night of October 8 to invade the property. An exchange of shots between them and the guards took place. One of the latter was wounded in the knee and had to be taken to the hospital.

The main purpose of the Chabanel community is an intellectual one, but on Sundays there is an exodus of priests to help out at various parishes and military camps. This is a big help especially in the Philippines, which has not nearly enough priests to handle the millions of Catholics. The arrival of so many China missionaries has in some ways been a blessing. The Fathers have also been giving retreats both to religious communities and to students. Father O'Hara organized a fine group of Chinese Catholics at the Ateneo. This was not done without difficulty. Father O'Hara arranged everything diplomatically with the ecclesiastical authorities, and then started his special Sunday Mass for the Chinese, during which he gives a sermon in Mandarin. Large Chinese communities are scattered all about the Philippines, but most of the people speak South China dialects. This language problem opens an almost untouched field for a thriving future apostolate if the language school remains here long enough to make it practical to train some of the missionaries in those dialects.

Only a small part of the language school library could be transported from Peiping, but constant additions to it are being made from Europe and America. Hence, if the exile in the Philippines should last very long, the brilliant staff of Jesuit professors, mostly young men, the pick of all the China

Jesuit missions, who have just finished their biennia at Rome, should be able to make Chabanel an intellectual powerhouse for the training of outstanding missionaries for the Communist aftermath in China.

JAMES F. KEARNEY, S.J.

THE MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY BUILDING PROGRAM, 1948-1952

When Father Edward J. O'Donnell became President of Marquette University on August 15, 1948 he met a situation quite unprecedented in the history of the institution. Owing to the presence of a great number of government-financed veterans the enrollment had reached an all time high of eight thousand seven hundred students. This large undergraduate population created a problem due to lack of space for lecture and study halls, reading rooms, bookshelves, housing and recreation facilities. On the other hand, the heavy debt, under which Marquette had labored for the past quarter century, had been paid off during the regime of his immediate predecessor, Father Peter A. Brooks, and, through the efforts of the Board of Governors some money, known as the "Marquette Fund," was in the bank.

Expansion in several directions at once was requisite, yet it was not easy for the new president to determine the point at which student attendance might level off, when the veterans had all graduated. He had to start a building program, without absolute standards to go by, and without sufficient means to warrant general expansion. Under these circumstances, the decision was made that roomy accommodations for a student body of between five and six thousand would be a pretty safe estimate for future needs. The "Marquette Fund" was too small to finance the necessary material development which would care for this number of young men and women. Obviously the president had to go begging.

The fact that Father O'Donnell is a native of Milwaukee and an alumnus of Marquette with the ability to win friends easily, helped very much in gaining the support of his home-

town people. However, he realized that without more time than the ordinary rector of a Jesuit community has, he would not be able to convey his message to the public efficiently. Hence, he undertook certain preliminaries which would assure himself more freedom.

With the authority of Very Reverend Father General, the high school was separated from the university and Father Richard D. McGloin became its rector in the fall of 1950. The university helped to organize a drive for the purpose of building the necessary residence for the new community. Next, Father O'Donnell, with the cooperation of higher superiors, appointed Father William McCabe as his assistant and delegated to him the authority to handle most of the things which a local superior has to do for those under his charge. During the previous administration, Father Max G. Barnett had received power to supervise the academic activities of the school on a similar basis. Thus unencumbered, the new president went to work.

The President Begins His Work

With accommodations for about six thousand students as a gauge, sketches were drawn which envisaged the best possibilities for placing buildings on a hypothetical campus which included an area of ten city blocks, about half of which were in the possession of the university. A large residence, which stood on the site of the future College of Journalism adjoining the present campus, was acquired and on Jauary 2, 1950 the offices of that department were moved into it.

In the meantime, businessmen of the city had been approached with the proposition of contributing toward a new College of Business Administration. The idea that this unit would supply the reservoir of manpower from which they would be able to draw, appealed to them. Their contributions came in so generously that it was considered safe to break ground, according to plan, on January 10, 1950, and the structure was completed in the spring of 1951. Its sound-absorbent ceilings, artificial ventilation, tile wainscoting and glass brick windows, which refract light to all parts of the classrooms, make it an ideal place to teach in and not hard to keep spick-and-span. Under this roof, there are eighteen

The new College of Business Administration building at Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

O'DONNELL HALL

The recently completed Marquette University's Women's Residence, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

classrooms, a large assembly hall, lounges and offices for fifty faculty members and the administration.

Housing out-of-town women students at Marquette presented something of a difficulty. Locally, since 1938, the women graduates of Marquette have been most helpful in the solution of this problem. Their first move was to buy, with borrowed money, an old but substantial apartment, which they remodeled to care for eighty-five co-eds. From this point, the alumnae carried their dormitory project forward so successfully that, by 1948, they had acquired five or six buildings, turned them to this use, and were, nevertheless, debt free.

In 1950, they cleared the ground where some of these old buildings were grouped and, on property about two blocks from the university, they began a million dollar residence for young women students. They obtained the money for the construction by means of a low-interest loan to be liquidated over a period of forty years. From past experience of their business ability there remains no doubt that the Marquette women will meet their debt. In the meantime, the new rooms for three hundred and fifty young ladies, the attractive dining room (supplied by a model kitchen), a really beautiful reception room and a devotional little chapel have won the approval of the feminine element on the campus, ever since classes began that fall. Every room was occupied.

Marquette has possessed a Student Union building since 1923. At that time a cafeteria and a few meeting rooms seemed to fill the needs of students. That was all that could be found within its walls. However, in a city institution, such a meeting place should offer more than this if the students and faculty were to be attracted to remain under school influence during periods of recreation. In 1948, the Union Board could show that it had made money at the old location. Out of its profits, it had purchased property for expansion some years before. After that it had constantly put aside some annual earnings in the hope of erecting a new home. The students and alumni in general have been called on to help toward the realization of such a center of campus life. By the fall of 1950 their cooperation had proven so active that the new Student Union building was begun. Today, construction is almost complete.

The roomy edifice, which will be occupied by February, 1953 leaves nothing to be desired. There is a ballroom which is eighty-five feet square. The "snack-bar" is about the same size. The main dining room can seat five hundred at one time. Beside these features, there are playrooms, meeting rooms, faculty rooms, faculty dining rooms, reception rooms and offices for the manager, the Dean of Men, the Dean of Women and the Alumni Secretary. If the Union ever becomes too small again, the foundations are capable of carrying the weight of an added story.

Further Progress

The principal frontage of the university is on Wisconsin Avenue, which is Milwaukee's "Main Street." Between the Engineering School and the Liberal Arts College there are two blocks facing the "Avenue." One of these which was vacant had belonged to the university for several years. There, in 1951, a Memorial Library was commenced. It will have shelves for 500,000 books and afford ample reading room space for a student body of 6,000. The plan includes study rooms for the faculty, carrels, microfilming facilities, apartments for visual aids and music auditions, lounges, a reception room and a "Hall of Honor" where Marquette's friends will receive recognition. It was decided to apply the "Marquette Fund" to the Library; and owing to the continued efforts of the Board of Governors, there was enough money available in it to undertake the erection of this building with financial security.

When, in 1948, the rest of the university was bursting at the seams with veterans, the Medical and Dental Schools did not feel the strain, because the number each may enroll was limited. Nevertheless, from another angle, because of the demand of standardizing agencies that these departments participate in ever wider fields of research and postgraduate work, they were in need of more room.

When Eben J. Carey, M.D., Dean of Medicine, died in 1947, and was followed to the grave by his wife, a few months later, it was found that a provision of her will left more than $100,000 for a special library to be dedicated in memory of husband and wife. Starting with this, Father Clarence J.

Ryan, who became Alumni Regent in 1949, immediately began a national appeal to Marquette physicians. He asked them to add enough to what had been given so that a wing might be added to the Medical School which would not only house books, but incorporate laboratories and research facilities. Father Ryan's work has taken him to every state in the Union and the medic alumni have been generous. Their gifts and pledges made it possible to begin work on the expansion in May of the present year.

The Dental School is waiting a while before undertaking the enlargement of its quarters, because, though a good many dentists have been visited, the complete rounds have not yet been made. The returns from those whom the Regent had contacted made him feel that it would not be long before this Department would also have additional space.

The response to Marquette's requests for help has manifested marvelous good will toward the institution. True, Father O'Donnell and his helpers are still obliged to continue their begging, but several bequests which have come to the university since 1948 have supplied additional confidence that things can be taken care of when the bills come due.

Thus, with God's help, the unselfish effort of a rector and the munificence of friends and alumni of the university, five permanent buildings have been added to the campus in the last four years without leaving any heavy burden on Marquette's future. Never before was so much done in so short a time and with such happy results.

The outcome might not have been so felicitous had not a sane attitude toward architectural style been adopted. The new structures all have a modern functional design which is simple when compared to the more ornate Tudor Gothic edifices which were their predecessors on the present campus. This economy kept costs within bounds. However, two considerations will prevent any untoward contrasts if and when the future campus becomes a fact. All units, whether they were built before or after 1948, are covered with the same type of brick and stone; and the new ones are arranged at sufficient distance from the old to prevent any inharmonious effect.

Just now, as this article is concluded, news has come that

800,000 Korean veterans are to be given government aid for education and more will follow as they are discharged from the various branches of military service. Before the university has had a chance to enjoy its recently acquired elbow room, it may be overcrowded again. However, it will be better prepared to receive the veterans, and, when normalcy does return, the estimate that the enrollment will level off at about 6,000 students seems to be pretty well substantiated by statistics for the past year. The roster shows 6,700 men and women in attendance at classes during the six months just completed.

RAPHAEL N. HAMILTON, S.J.

Father Robert Persons

An *Opera Omnia* of St. Gregory Nazianzen, printed in Paris in 1583 and owned by the General Theological Seminary of New York City, carries on the title page, lower margin, a neatly lettered signature: P. Robertus Personius. This probably is the Latin form of the name of the famous English Jesuit, Father Robert Persons (1546-1610). The WOODSTOCK LETTERS are indebted for this information to Professor Bernard M. Peebles of Catholic University who writes: "Certain diagrams on the fly-leaves offer possible further interest but these pages have been obscured by the overpasting of marbelled end-papers, which must be removed before further study can be prosecuted."

The 1953 edition of the *Christian Life Calendar*, originated by Father William Puetter, S.J., gives a spiritual thought for each day of the new liturgical year beginning November 30th. (Bruce, $1)

OBITUARY

FATHER JOHN B. FURAY

1873-1951

Father Furay was born in Omaha, Nebraska, March 25, 1873. He studied at Creighton University there and at St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas. He was graduated from the latter institution, together with two of his older brothers, in a class of ten on June 19, 1890. On March 31 of the following year he entered the novitiate at Florissant. Even as a novice there was a certain dignity and mature reserve about him. Lest this trait become the occasion of pride, his novice master, Father Hagamann, found means to remind him of his insignificance by pretending to forget his name. When some distinguished visitor was asked to address the novices and these were introduced to him by name, Father Hagamann would pause when he came to John Furay and say quite innocently, "And, Carissime, what is your name?" In later years Father Furay used to recall this incident and the evident purpose intended.

After a year of juniorate at Florissant he was sent to St. Louis for philosophy. Here he was beadle of the philosophers just as in due time he was to become beadle of the theologians. Mr. Furay had four years of regency, one at St. Louis University as professor of physics and mathematics, and three at St. Ignatius College, Chicago, where he taught the classes of humanities and rhetoric. In 1903 he began his theology at St. Louis, where he was ordained in June, 1905 by Archbishop Glennon. On the completion of his theology he returned to Florissant for his tertianship under Father Grimmelsman. His first assignment after this was the teaching of Latin and Greek to the juniors. After one semester, when Father James Finn was made novice master, Father Furay was called to replace him as professor of philosophy in St. Louis.

The summer status of 1908 transferred him to St. John's College, Toledo, with the assignment of prefect of studies. During the preceding year the Buffalo Mission of the German Province, to which Toledo belonged, had been dissolved and St. John's College was taken over by the Missouri Province. To

adapt the conditions of this institution to the traditions of the Missouri Province, with due consideration for all concerned, was a task that required both prudence and charity. So well did Father Furay perform this task that two years later he was appointed Rector of St. Ignatius College, Cleveland, where a similar situation prevailed. Here, too, his kindly consideration won the esteem and confidence of all. As one who was a Scholastic under him there testified in later years, "We all regarded Father Furay as a real Jesuit, a perfect gentleman." One instance will indicate his delicate regard for others. To help some of the older Fathers and Brothers, whose native tongue was German, to feel more at ease with him, Father Furay had his admonitor, the aged Spiritual Father, give him lessons in that language; and he delighted his old teacher a few years later by writing him a letter in rather boyish German.

After six years as rector in Cleveland, Father Furay was given a similar appointment at St. Ignatius College, Chicago. In both these administrative positions he took an active part in the formation and development of the National Catholic Educational Association. He was equally interested in the meetings of the colleges and universities of Illinois, and he was both gracious and courageous in representing to these non-Catholic educators the purpose and methods of our own Catholic institutions.

In 1915, Most Reverend George W. Mundelein was appointed Archbishop of Chicago. The first fact that led him to form a very favorable impression of the good being done in his Archdiocese by the Jesuit Fathers was that, for many years without remuneration from any source, three of them had been and still were devoting themselves to continuous night and day service in the large Cook County Hospital. The second fact, was the good being done at St. Ignatius College, very largely through the wise direction of Father Furay. So impressed was Cardinal Mundelein with the more than ordinary prudence and conscientious fidelity to duty that characterized Father Furay, that he chose him as his personal counselor in many of the problems that arose in the administration of the great archdiocese. Hence it was no surprise that when the time came for the establishment of the archdiocesan seminary,

the Cardinal chose Father Furay to head and personally select a Jesuit faculty to whom was to be entrusted the studies and spiritual direction of the seminarians. The administration of the seminary itself, the finances, discipline, library, and department of music, were taken over by members of the diocesan clergy. This arrangement was unusual; and the fact that throughout the twenty and more years that followed, a genuine harmony and good feeling prevailed in this mixed faculty, was due in large part to the prudence and courtesy of Father Furay. He realized the importance of the task assigned him, and the opportunity it offered the Society to exercise a wholesome influence on the priests and people of this large archdiocese. He always regarded it as the greatest of all his assignments; and he was very humble in recognizing his own limitations. When he was nearing the completion of five years as superior, and feared that the influence of Cardinal Mundelein might bring about his continuance in office, he wrote to Reverend Father General giving his reasons for asking for relief. He mentioned his own limitations—the burden he felt of sixteen continuous years of superiorship. Some one else, he wrote, could do fully as well—probably much better than himself—nor would his successor have any difficulty in meriting the confidence of Cardinal Mundelein.

But Reverend Father General saw fit to refuse his request, and Father Furay continued for fifteen years more at his post. It was only when a heart attack sent him to the hospital for two months, followed by a gradual general debility, that Father Furay obtained permission to return to St. Louis to spend his remaining days in very welcome retirement. He was appointed Spiritual Father of the philosophers, then of the whole community. But partial blindness, a defective heart, high blood pressure and, eventually, a cancerous condition slowly brought to a close his years of active service. Until the week before he died he was regular in attending community exercises in the chapel, refectory, and recreation room. He sought no exceptions and graciously declined them when offered. He offered his last Mass on Thursday, January 10. Next day he was taken to the hospital. His brother, Harry, visited him there on the twelfth. Father was able to converse fairly well, though tiring noticeably from the effort

it cost him, and then his mind began to wander. But he seemed fairly strong and the doctors thought he might linger on for some weeks. During the next two days there was no change. On the night of the fourteenth, Father Connelly, S.J., the chaplain at the hospital, who had been Father Furay's confessor at Mundelein, called at his room as usual about ten o'clock, stayed for a few minutes and then gave him his blessing. At about eleven o'clock the nurse stopped to look into his room. She found him seated on the side of the bed leaning up against the chair. He had apparently endeavored to get up, had a heart attack, and quietly passed away. It was the manner of dying that he had desired: fully prepared, but without bothering anyone.

Father Furay spent practically his entire priestly life in the Society as a superior. His mode of government was what the Society desires of her superiors: *Fortiter in re, suaviter in modo.* To some who knew him less intimately it may have seemed that the *fortiter* was slightly more apparent than the *suaviter,* at least during his earlier years in office. The explanation of this appearance lay in Father Furay's almost scrupulous conscientiousness, especially in matters of obedience. Whatever lay in his own personal power to give or grant, he gave most generously. But when there was question of preserving the spirit and the traditions of the Society, or the enforcing of a definite order of higher superiors, Father Furay did not allow human respect or his own personal preferences to interfere. He truly loved the Society and was determined to hand down to the younger generation the highest ideals of the Society as he had learned them.

He left very little in writing, but among the things he did leave was a small notebook in which he had written down extensive excerpts from Justine Ward's life of Father William O'Brien Pardow. The very fact that he took pains to write them down indicates that these thoughts and sentiments were re-echoes of his own mind and heart. To one who knew Father Furay intimately, this is evident. Though unlike Father Pardow in many external activities, Father Furay apparently found in Father Pardow's life much that corresponded with his own ideals, with his own traits of character, with his own difficulties in measuring up to these

ideals. A reading of this life of Father Pardow, or at least a reading of the excerpts Father Furay selected, would supply a sketch of his own personal spiritual life—far more detailed and far more enlightening than the present one offers. A few sample excerpts will reveal this.

"There is something about regularity and self-conquest which in itself conveys to people who are less regulated the impression of coldness, of being not quite human—as though humanity included only humanity's weaknesses. It would seem impossible were it not a fact of common experience, that a man should be misjudged for the very reason that he applies logically a principle that all believe in, but that others grasp superficially. Ignatius was thought cold-hearted because of the very fact that he acted through choice and not by impulse."

Regarding Father Pardow as Instructor of Tertians: "He poured out the ideals of the Society as he saw them, and the height to which each Jesuit should aspire, with all the eagerness which he himself felt, with all the detached personal ardor which could not allow for the recoil of wounded self-love. Only gradually did it dawn on him that even in this rarified atmosphere (of the tertianship) meat must be tempered to babes. His words discouraged some; the ideal seemed unattainable. His written record shows how hard he tried to analyze the trouble. 'One told me, weeping,' he said, 'that the effect of my words on him had always been depressing—I seemed to have no sympathy—I am like cold steel. . . .' "

And yet, though these details may lead one to believe that Father Furay was an unsympathetic individual, those who lived with him for many years, and knew what efforts he made to make himself accessible to others, realize that Father Furay truly was "a real Jesuit—a perfect gentleman."

FRANCIS X. BUSCH, S.J.

FATHER JAMES H. KEARNEY

1891-1947

The death of Father James Kearney on November 21, 1947 at the age of fifty-six came as a sudden shock to the New York and Maryland Provinces and to his many friends both here

and abroad who admired him for his genuine priestly and human qualities. His health had never been very robust, and of recent years he had patiently endured a great deal of suffering from various ailments which made him very nervous and had necessitated a change of status from Woodstock, where he had taught Moral Theology for sixteen years. For the last two years of his life Father Kearney was a member of Fordham University's faculty of philosophy and religion.

On Wednesday, November 19, Father Kearney had suffered a slight heart attack, but thinking it was of minor consequence, shrugged it off and taught his usual classes in Ethics and Evidences that day and the next. On Thursday afternoon, however, the pain recurred and the doctor was summoned. The doctor diagnosed the case as coronary thrombosis and prescribed hospitalization and a complete rest. Father requested that he be sent to St. Michael's Hospital in Newark, N.J., where his sister, a Franciscan nun, was stationed and where he had recovered from a serious operation a few years before.

Father spent a quiet night, but was unable to get much sleep because of the distress which remained after the attack. Shortly before nine o'clock Friday morning, while he was resting comfortably, the severe pain in his heart returned. The hospital chaplain and doctor were summoned immediately by the nurse in attendance. Father was anointed and the doctor administered usual treatment, but to no avail. Within three minutes, even before his sister had time to descend from her X-ray laboratory to the sick room, Father Kearney had gone to his eternal reward.

The Jesuit life that thus came to an end had been spent almost entirely in houses of formation of Ours. His regency and the last two and a half years of Father Kearney's life were the only exceptions. His apostolate was completely devoted to the training of our Scholastics to be worthy priests.

James Kearney was born in New York City on May 9, 1891, the youngest of five children of James H. and Margaret McKeon Kearney. He was the only boy in the family. Three of his sisters later became nuns, one a Sister of Charity of Mt. St. Vincent, N.Y., another a nun of the Presentation Order, and the third is Sister Mary Angeline of the Sisters of

FATHER JAMES H. KEARNEY

the Poor of St. Francis the lone surviving member of the family. In later life Father was to show especial interest in the work of this nursing order, particularly in the communities of St. Francis Hospital, Bronx, N.Y., St. Michael's Hospital, Newark, and St. Mary's Hospital, Hoboken, N.J., where his cousin, Sister Priscilla Marie, is stationed.

As a boy, James attended St. Ignatius parochial school on East 84th Street in New York. Father often spoke laughingly of playing ball on the side street outside the Church with a boy named John Grattan (later to be Father Grattan, who was Rector of St. Ignatius at the time of his death in 1949). It seems that the youngsters would frequently be chased by the police, who would have preferred the boys to play in Central Park rather than on the street. As soon as the policeman's head would appear around the corner, the boys would run and take "sanctuary" in the basement of St. Ignatius Church, where not infrequently they would meet Father George Quinn. Father Quinn would claim the boys' attention for some time till the patrolman had passed. Father Kearney would say in after years that he believed the patrolman and Father Quinn arranged these meetings, for the boys loved Father Quinn who brought home to them many lessons and wise counsels.

After the family moved from Yorkville to the then more rural Bronx, Father Kearney attended Public High School for two years. At the close of his second year, he told his parents that he wanted to leave school and start working. This was very much against their desires, but, in the end, his father told him to get a job during the summer, and, if he did not like it, he could still return to high school in September. James found a position in a bank, and, to his family's sorrow, when September came, he continued to stay with the bank.

In August of the following year, 1908, his mother died. James had always been her pride and joy, the only boy with three sisters, and he felt her loss deeply. Returning from Calvary Cemetery, where his mother was laid to rest, James startled his father and sisters by saying, "Dad, may I go back to high school in September?" His father hesitated. Things were changed now with mother's going. But one of his sisters asked him, "What is your object in wanting to return to school?" James replied, "I want to go to Fordham. I

want to become a priest." Needless to say, full permission was given.

James entered Fordham Prep in the fall and in two years completed all the high school work in Latin, Greek and other subjects required for entrance into the Society. He had taken none of these subjects at the public school. Gifted with an excellent memory, he loved his work and made rapid strides in studies. Nevertheless, he remained truly humble all his life. He confided to his sister on several occasions, "I know my capabilities and my limitations, but I also know that God has given me all that I have. If I said I did not know what I do, I would be telling a lie and depriving God of honor." Honors meant nothing to him personally.

Just before graduation James was able to fulfill his ambition of the last two years: to enter the Society. He was accepted and entered St. Andrew on August 14, 1910 where Father George A. Pettit was novice master.

Mr. Kearney made his juniorate from 1912 to 1914, a period he once described as the most difficult part of the course for him. This was in part due to the fact that his two years at Fordham Prep were the only preparation he had for his work in Latin and Greek. Nevertheless, here it was that he continued to develop the power of his memory. Thirty years afterward one could say in his presence *Endoi Praxinoa?* and Father Kearney would give from memory line after line of this poem of Theocritus. He could do the same with *Autar epei kosmethen* and many other leads in Greek, in Latin and in English.

In later years, too, it was with admiration that one watched him prepare his notes for an ordinary Sunday sermon or an hour's lecture to laymen on some special question in moral theology. Several sheets of paper would be lined up on his desk, their several headings being the *loci* learned in his rhetoric year. After ruminating on the various *loci* and the evolution of thoughts therein suggested, he would begin to put them into place, trying this one here, and another there until he had a work of art. He had not merely memorized his principles, but knew them as practical sources and brought forth the elegant fruits that only well-ordered and correct principles can produce.

In 1914 he went to Woodstock for his three years of

philosophy. In these studies Mr. Kearney's mind seemed to have found its natural habitat. Philosophy was studied with even more painstaking accuracy and thoroughness than had characterized his work in the juniorate. In the winter of his third year he was given the defense in the house disputation in Natural Theology by Father William J. Brosnan, and he ably acquitted himself of the task.

At the end of the year, instead of being sent out to regency, Mr. Kearney was held over at Woodstock to do the Grand Act in philosophy. The Grand Act required an additional year's preparation. Visiting ecclesiastical dignitaries along with theology and philosophy professors from Dominican, Sulpician, Benedictine and Franciscan seminaries came to Woodstock to test the Scholastic's knowledge not only of St. Thomas, but also of Kant, Descartes or some other well-known philosopher. Mr. Kearney's task was to defend the whole field of Ontology and Natural Theology against the difficulties raised by Kantian metaphysics. Many of his confreres then could not appreciate the well-rounded and integrated knowledge that he had, but from talks with him in later life it could be seen that he remembered with exactitude the various difficulties and the solutions which were given that day in 1918.

Mr. Kearney's regency was spent at Fordham. For the first year he taught senior Latin, Greek and English at the Prep, and the next two years he was assigned to a freshman college class in the same subjects. He gave the same energy to the preparation of his classes as he had to his own studies of the classics and philosophy. The result was inevitable—an interesting, interested, informative and successful class. Many of his students are now outstanding men in the professions in New York City and State. With many of these men he was able to keep in contact during the later years of his life.

His interest in his class extended to the out-of-school hours. When the sophomore-freshman battles would take place, he was out there cheering on the freshmen in the struggle and protecting them when things became too rough. As prefect on the corridors, he showed the tact and foresight necessary to win the good will and good behavior of his charges. At the same time he was in charge of the Fordham Maroon, the College's literary monthly, and he showed a remarkable capacity for getting the best out of the budding authors.

He was enthusiastically interested in all things connected with Fordham and a fervent follower of the famous Fordham football and hockey teams of those days. Fordham averaged about seventeen Scholastics during the years 1918-1921 and it was possible to find them playing touch football or baseball in the afternoons and on holidays. A fellow Scholastic vividly recalls a basketball game which lasted interminably because of the plentiful substitutions among the regents. Father Kearney was always in the midst of this activity. He was a grand community man, a successful teacher and an understanding counselor. He never strove for popularity, but received it nevertheless from the boys because of his evident endeavors to be just, fair and equable.

After three years teaching he was sent to Oña, Burgos, Spain for his theology. One of his letters after arrival in France tells of how he influenced his fellow voyagers. He writes on the day of his landing at Le Havre: "We landed on the eighth after a truly glorious trip in which by our zealous enjoyment we made two converts. One, a fallen-away, said to me, 'Father, I wish I knew you sooner.' I had only performed the works of the apostolate of being happy, and he envied my real pleasure. He is on the right road now, and the conversion was made without the slightest effort at being a reformer. He just wanted to be happy and caught my enthusiasm for a sunset on the ocean. The other, a prim Y.W.C.A. lady came to me two days before landing and asked to speak with me. We chatted regularly after that. Her remark was 'If you can be so human, I would not be afraid of your faith.' I proceeded at once to be super-human and I think I accomplished much. I was really surprised how people were anxious to be friendly, especially, since in the beginning of the trip, they were so formal to us. We did mingle in and keep the ball rolling."

Shortly after he writes again: "Leaving Notre Dame we taxied to Montmartre where St. Ignatius and his first companions took their first vows. You would never recognize this famous little chapel from the outside, situated as it is in the worst part of Paris. The Helpers of the Holy Souls keep it now. We entered and knelt and I cannot describe my prayers in that holy place. Noviceship dreams were realized. We signed our names in a book where Saints had signed be-

fore us and where the Archbishop of Paris, on the page before ours, had commended his city to St. Dennis."

Travelling south toward the Spanish border the American Scholastics stopped at Lourdes, and Mr. Kearney records his impressions in another letter, "Believe me," he writes, "my eyes were dim many times as I walked up the big path to the shrine. And there at the great heart of France I finally stood, a few feet away from where Bernadette knelt when she beheld Our Lady Mother. At last, the keenest ambition of my life was fulfilled. I was at Lourdes! No one is a sight-seeing wanderer here. You might come to see the sights, but in a moment you are a praying pilgrim. Everyone is praying and singing all the long day. And what devotion! People, altogether unmindful of those around, kneel and kiss the ground and then with arms extended, ask their favors."

Keenly sensitive to all the inspiration given by the European shrines he and his companions visited on their way to Oña, he writes later on, "From San Sebastian we travelled on a crawling train right through the heart of the Pyrenees to Loyola. We walked through the holy house, through the room of St. Ignatius' birth and the room of his conversion. We kissed his sacred relics here and in the morning I served two Masses and received Communion in this sacred room. We saw the great cleft in the three-foot thick wall, which tradition tells us was made by the devil at the moment of the great conversion. We knelt where St. Francis Borgia said his first Mass and where many of our Saints have come to pray. The past is becoming real to us as we become more intimate with these sacred places."

Before the first year of theology was out it became apparent to superiors at Oña that neither Mr. Kearney nor his two companions could weather the cold, and so they returned to Woodstock for their remaining three years of theology. One never heard him complain of his hardships over there. He would only mention the humorous.

After two years at Woodstock, James Kearney was ordained at Georgetown University on June 27, 1924 by Archbishop Michael J. Curley. It was during his fourth year that Father Provincial called Father Kearney to the bedside of his sister, Teresa, who was dying at St. Francis Hospital in the Bronx.

At the same time there happened to be another patient occupying the room directly opposite hers, who noticed Father Kearney and his other sister, a Franciscan nun, coming and going on their frequent visits. This patient remarked to Teresa how happy she must be to have a brother and a sister in religion, and she often sent little gifts across the hall, sharing with Teresa whatever she thought would give her pleasure. The remark was once made to Father Kearney that it would be nice if the Kearneys could do something nice for Mrs. F., the patient across the hall. At the time all that Father replied was "Just wait. Surely an opportunity will offer itself."

Shortly after Father Kearney returned to Woodstock Mrs. F. died. His sister learned from her nurses that Mrs. F. had had one great sorrow in her life—her oldest son, then about twenty-five years old, would not frequent the sacraments because of some trouble he had had as a boy with a priest. He went to Mass at his mother's pleading, but received no further help from his religion. His sister passed the story on to Father Kearney.

One year later on the anniversary of Mrs. F.'s death, Father was in New York on his way to Fordham. Since the family of Mrs. F. lived just a few blocks from Fordham, Father decided to call on them. He found the young man home and spoke of his beloved mother. The son remarked, "Yes, we had a Mass for mother today." Father asked if all received Communion. He replied, "All except myself." Father asked why. Then the boy poured forth the whole story of his long absence from the sacraments. He concluded by saying that he would return some day but it would take time. Father asked the boy to walk with him to Fordham as he wanted to get in early. On the way Father asked all the questions for a general confession and received sincere answers from the young man as well as his expression of sorrow for absenting himself from the Holy Table. When they reached Fordham, Father asked him up to his room. He then told him to kneel down, while he put on his stole, and said, "You have made a perfect confession. I will now give you absolution." Amidst tears the young man arose. Father referred him to another priest in New York, because he would soon be returning to Woodstock.

Father later called his sister and said, "Sister, we have paid Mrs. F. back for her kindness—so all is well."

Immediately after theology Father was sent to Rome for a biennium in Moral Theology and returned with the degree of Magister Aggregatus from the Gregorian University. Characteristic of his attitude towards these scholastic honors is the following anecdote. Father had been told by the provincial that when he was through at Rome he was to return home. His last class was at 11 o'clock one morning and he reported to his superior that since he was through he would like to leave Rome that evening. His superior expressed surprise and asked, "Won't you remain for your marks and certificates?" "Oh, no," Father Kearney replied, "they mean nothing to me. Send them to my provincial in America. He is the one that wanted them, not I."

After tertianship at St. Andrew-on-Hudson in 1927-28 under Father Peter A. Lutz, and a summer status on the mission band, Father Kearney was assigned to teach Ethics at Woodstock, to pinch-hit for the year until the man regularly assigned returned from Rome. A copy of the three hundred pages of mimeographed Ethics notes he composed that year were recently sent over to San José Seminary, Philippine Islands, where they were duplicated for the use of the seminarians. The thorough, careful work that went into those notes still bears fruit twenty-five years after.

The next year, 1929, saw the beginning of Father Kearney's career as Moral Theology Professor at Woodstock. Some idea of the high quality of his work in this position for the next fifteen years may be gained from the following lines penned by a close associate on the Woodstock faculty all these years: "Father Kearney wrote out every lecture and delivered it exactly as it was written. As the cycles of the course returned every second year, he was constantly rewriting his lectures, ever striving for clarity of expression. He was forever striving to get the reasons for a proposition down to the clearest application of the principle of contradiction. He was far from contented with the reasons given in the Moral manuals and continually sought the ultimate reason why some given statement was the *sententia communis*. No one who paid attention in his classes ever denied that his lectures were

exceptionally well ordered, the *status* clear, the proof to the point and the applications practical. He would discuss without heat with others whom he knew to be of an inquisitive mind. Personalities never entered into the discussion and frequently after a lengthy discussion he would say, 'That is the first time you have ever seen that so clearly.' He never resented the rejoinder, 'And it is the first time you have seen it so clearly.' His files on Moral matters were voluminous and his cross references were neatness itself. Persevering thoroughness, accuracy and clarity were among his outstanding characteristics."

He was perhaps rightly afraid lest he be misquoted, as is not the unusual fate of Moralists, and on that account was more conservative in class than he was in his own room, when he would solve a definite concrete case. He never dodged the solution of a definite problem, if it were taken up with him privately, and his reasons were given with precision. But he was very quick to detect a case to which some hypothetically irrational conditions were added.

During the last years of his life he was almost continually in poor health. The doctor told him that he had an ailment closely connected with his heart. Outside of days in the hospital, he never missed a scheduled class. During these later years he could not put his accustomed energetic application into his private studies. He had great difficulty getting four hours sleep and his nervousness was evident to all. For several years he debated about asking Reverend Father Provincial for a change from Woodstock. Serious operations marked the end of the scholastic years, 1943-1944. So he calmly sat down and drew up the *pros* and *cons* in the light of reason and the rules of the Society, and after consideration of these he asked for a change.

Father Kearney spent the summer of 1944 at Mount Manresa Retreat House, Staten Island, and in the late fall was assigned parish work at St. Peter's, Jersey City. In January he was back in the classroom as Professor of Ethics at Hudson College. September of 1946 found him back at Fordham, this time teaching Psychology and Natural Theology, subjects to which he had not given serious attention in almost thirty years. Nevertheless he settled down with the

energy of a philosopher to the study of these new subjects that his class might have the best that he could give. He did not hesitate to write in a letter, "The subject is just vast enough to make me want to cover as much as I can from day to day. I have my own way of studying and it takes up much of my time. This year I am devoting all my time to learning something!"

The next scholastic year, which he was barely to begin, he was asked to take Father Ignatius Cox's classes in Ethics. Once more he was back in his familiar field. And he taught right up to the day before his death. Death was never more vividly realized by his senior class than the next morning when they assembled for Ethics class and it was announced that Father Kearney had passed away. The editorial tribute of the *Fordham Ram* is eloquent: "Sincere, humble and intensely devoted to his work, Father Kearney won the respect and admiration of all those who came under his influence, particularly those whom he taught in the classroom. Having had him for class the day before his death, Senior A experienced a great shock and a sense of deep loss when the news reached them the next morning. To them he was more than just a teacher. He was a gentle, kindly and lovable man. To them he was a friend as well as a teacher, a counselor as well as an instructor. At the end of each class one would inevitably find him in the center of a group of his students, answering their difficulties and objections with the ease which comes from many years of teaching."

A close friend writes the following, "I do not believe that anyone ever heard him say anything against the character of another. And I never heard anyone say anything derogatory of another's character in Father Kearney's presence, but that he was asked immediately on what facts he based his statement. He was ever ready to assist the mentally ill and he would spend hours in a day and days in a week to help them. His was a solid and dependable character. One who had him for a friend could be absolutely certain that Father Kearney would do his best in time of trouble."

Father Kearney had the gift of setting people at their ease in his presence. The natural gift was the foundation for his supernatural zeal for souls that was his preoccupation in every

contact with people outside the faith. Father Kearney exercised a remarkable influence on non-Catholics who met and knew him even briefly. A Southern family with ingrained prejudice against everything Catholic, particularly priests, changed remarkably in their whole attitude after a few talks with Father Kearney, and would never allow anyone to say anything against the Church in their presence. On a number of occasions Protestants and Jewish parents, who had met and conceived a great admiration of Father Kearney, and through him, of the Catholic clergy and the Church, not only showed no hesitancy in giving their children in a Catholic marriage ceremony, but were even happy to have them subsequently become converts, despite their former attitude of deep-rooted antagonism to the Church.

Father Kearney's supernatural life, as far as it can be known from the unconscious manifestations in the company of his brothers in religion, was characteristically Jesuit. His tender devotion to the Blessed Virgin seemed to be its basic component. On more than one occasion it was remarked that his conferences on Mary, the Mother of God, were among the most inspirational talks of his retreats to religious communities. All his life he kept up his noviceship practice of reciting daily the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin. In later years, he confided once to a friend, he was able to recite the entire Little Office from memory.

His religious life was thorough, deeply implanted, without show and constantly solid. Only a truly supernatural man could have stood up so perseveringly under the physical beating of ill health that he underwent. His solid piety and Jesuit character were never more clearly shown than in drawing up the reasons for and against remaining at Woodstock in the weakened state of his health. His influence in the Maryland and New York Provinces will be felt as long as a single one of his students lives.

JOHN J. MCLAUGHLIN, S.J.

Books of Interest to Ours

THE AGE OF CHRIST

Per Un Mondo Nuovo. *By Riccardo Lombardi, S.J.* Rome, Civiltà Cattolica, 1951. Pp. 716.

This is a startling book, one of those written once in a century. It tells of an even more startling campaign, of the kind that not even every century sees. Indeed, to find any real parallel, one must go far back into history, perhaps back to St. Bernard. Surely an exaggeration? Perhaps, but it is more likely that the description falls short of the reality.

The author's career has been amazing. From conference room to theater; from open square preaching to sermons given simultaneously in two hundred churches of Rome linked by radio. A full week's mission to the twenty-four thousand parishes of Italy; from Italy—without knowledge of the foreign tongues—to Austria, Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, North and South America. Everywhere Father Lombardi's Crusade of Love has met with the same enthusiastic response in the hearts of his millions of listeners. In the Soviet sector of Berlin it is the Communists themselves who insure order while he speaks. In Rome, at the conclusion of his sermon, the Holy Father leads the most gigantic procession Rome has ever seen, from Santa Maria Maggiore to St. Peter's, and on three consecutive nights recites the Rosary amid the millions who had listened in the churches and in the squares to the broadcast sermons. And in the midst of all this unprecedented success Father Lombardi remains the same humble, childlike religious whose sole purpose is to transmit the message of Jesus.

Small wonder, then, that four months saw five editions of this book in Italian, to say nothing of translations into other languages. One may discuss the book, agree or disagree with various parts of it—far from resenting criticism, Father Lombardi invites it—but one can no longer afford to ignore it, least of all we who are "ejusdem Societatis; nostra causa agitur!"

The first part of the volume analyzes the present world situation and outlines the new world-order as envisaged by the author (pp. 1-267). That we are witnessing the doom of our present epoch of civilization and the rise of a new age, has today become a commonplace. Fr. Lombardi's concise analysis of the situation, an analysis in which evaluation from a social viewpoint predominates, could easily be supplemented by additional references to our marvelous technical inventions and scientific discoveries and to the revolutionary effect which these are bound to have on our geographic and cosmographic outlook and our whole way of life in a world truly one. This revolution can only be compared to the physical and astronomical revolution initiated by Galileo in the dawn of our modern age, or to the great geographic discoveries of the fifteenth century. It was these latter discoveries which inaugurated the era of colonial em-

pires which has apparently now come to a close with the awakening spirit of nationalism and independence in the subdued and exploited races of Asia and Africa. Reference might also be made to the present-day reunification of Western Europe—the fulfillment of a dream that has failed to come true for a thousand years, since the days of Charlemagne. Our two World Wars and the world-wide repercussions of Fascism, National Socialism, and Bolshevism, these are like so many earthquakes: only symptoms of a far more deeply rooted cause of unrest which is to change once more the face of the earth and to inaugurate a new age.

But is it really going to be a *Christian* age? Fr. Lombardi is unshakeably optimistic. The coming Age of Christ, "L'età di Gesu," is the key note, the leitmotif, of his entire book. Are his arguments convincing?

There is no doubt that the era of liberalism and individualism, with its unrestricted freedom of initiative, but also with all its social injustice, is definitely at an end. There is no doubt that the contrary solution, that of totalitarian collectivism with its atheistic, materialistic disregard of the most elementary rights of the human person, is bound to fail, and fail miserably. For, if the unrestrained freedom of the individual leads to the oppression and enslavement of the proletarian masses, unrestricted mass-collectivism, on the other hand, destroys personal freedom. The solution must lie in a social structure which offers as much individual freedom as is compatible with true social solidarity, and as much social solidarity as is compatible with true individual freedom. Such is our Christian solution: equally opposed to the enslavement of the proletarian masses under the oppression of capitalism and to the enslavement of the individual under the tyranny of a collective state; opposed to any form of unjust oppression because the Christian sees in every human being a child of the one heavenly Father; opposed to any form of selfishness, be it that of the capitalist individual or that of the collectivist totalitarian state.

We wholeheartedly agree when Fr. Lombardi concludes to the tremendous responsibility which rests on each of us in this all-decisive hour; we firmly renew with him our resolution to do our utmost to hasten the coming of Christ's Kingdom on earth. But must the Age of Christ come *now?* Must it even come at all? *A posse ad esse non valet illatio.* Its mere possibility and desirability do not prove its reality. God in His divine economy permits evil, it is true, because He knows how to bring good out of it, and the greater the evil He permits, the greater the good that will come of it (pp. 90-91). As our present Holy Father has repeatedly stated, the present gigantic assault of militant atheism against the very idea of God exceeds in extent and virulence all such previous attacks. The optimistic conclusion is that we shall meet with an equally unprecedented triumph of the forces of good. But must the reaction set in *now?* Have we already reached the bottom of the pit? Are we really entitled to expect such an extraordinary triumph, when Sacred Scripture clearly foretells *the* great persecution

and apostasy as occurring precisely towards the end of time? To these questions Fr. Lombardi might reply in the words of his preface: "If I have had the courage to write what I have written, it is because I have *seen* it before having thought it. . . . I think I have had a privileged window open to the future" (pp. 10-11). There can be no discussion of a claim to intuitive knowledge, but such intuitive certitude cannot be communicated to others. Fr. Lombardi himself, however, gives repeated warning against a false optimism that would expect the conversion of the whole world; for Scripture clearly says that there will always be weeds and cockle amid the wheat (p. 60), that there will always be persecution and treason to keep us from childish hopes in a millennium (pp. 248-50). The whole forecast of the Age of Christ is conditioned on our free cooperation (p. 263).

What are to be the main features of this coming Age of Christ? Fr. Lombardi prefaces his outline with the remark that the natural resources of the earth, intended for the common use of mankind, are unfortunately most unequally distributed. He then states three principles.

1) Men have the right to own private property. This right is based on Sacred Scripture (the Seventh Commandment [p. 100]); on the nature of man who, as a rational animal, has the desire and the right not merely to live from day to day, but also to make adequate provision for his future; and on the common good which demands the possibility of acquiring private property as an incentive to the individual to work and to produce (pp. 100-2).

2) Man's dignity as a human person and his instinct for self-preservation give him the right to a decent livelihood, not only for himself but for his family as well. This right is based on God's command in Genesis (1:28): "Increase and multiply, fill the earth and subdue it" (pp. 102-5).

3) In a conflict between the right of some to private property and the right of others to a decent livelihood, it is the duty of the state to intervene, for the state has the right to demand of the individual all that is needed for the common good: in this case, to make demands on the individual with extensive private property, in order to secure work and a livelihood for all. This principle (pp. 105-9) is the most difficult one to handle. Its ultimate foundations are in the text of Genesis (3:17): "With labor and toil shalt thou eat [of the fruits of the earth] all the days of thy life," for here we have proved the duty—and consequently the right—to gain one's livelihood by working. This third principle implies far-reaching powers in the state: for example, to impose on industrialists the employment of a larger number of workers, or to forbid further dismissals, except in cases of serious neglect; to impose higher taxes; to redistribute the land; to prohibit monopolies and trusts, etc. (p. 108). It is always assumed, of course, that private industry be not completely ruined by such public measures, for these instead of being a remedy would then only lead to still graver evils. Fr. Lombardi is quite aware of the revolutionary character of some of his proposals (p. 112). It is quite surprising, however, that in estab-

lishing his principles he has recourse, not to the natural law or even to Papal pronouncements, but solely to Sacred Scripture.

To evaluate in detail these social reform measures would exceed the scope of this review and the competence of the reviewer. Nor are such practical considerations the most important ones for the reader of Fr. Lombardi's book. For even one who does not agree with every practical detail cannot but give warm welcome to what is of primary moment: the underlying spirit, the desire to revive our Christian socialmindedness. This is indeed Fr. Lombardi's main object: the renewal of the true Christian spirit. "Ricostruire l'amore" is one of the most beautiful and deeply moving chapters of the whole book. Love was the great victim of the last war. Communism has ever since been busy fomenting hatred by preaching only the rights of people, only their grievances and the injustices they are suffering from others. The promotion of mutual love demands that people now be reminded first of all of their duties rather than their rights, of the evil they are doing rather than the evil they are suffering. It is with this delicate task that Fr. Lombardi finds himself entrusted. No wonder he shrinks from it at first—but Jesus urges him on (p. 151). Therefore, in his charming manner, Fr. Lombardi addresses the various groups within society—the rich and the poor, the young and the old—and with childlike candor tells them their faults. Then: "Suddenly in the depths of my heart Jesus warns me: 'You must tell the priests too their faults.' Yes, the priests too: 'O my brethren, how greatly to blame we are for what has happened! Mankind would never have reached its present state, had we always been what we should. . . . Men have done evil, a great evil, in leaving the Church of Jesus just because we personally were mediocre servants . . . because we were not saints. But let us admit it, a great deal of the blame is ours. . . . Let us therefore bow our heads, for our own faults and for the faults of those who have preceded us; and in our goodness souls will find Jesus once again' " (pp. 155-56).

Then Fr. Lombardi turns to non-Catholics. "Jesus looked at them, His heart full of love, but of immense sadness too. . . . 'Your forefathers were all Catholics; why have you gone away? For so many centuries the world knew only the Catholic Church; that was the only Church, My Church . . . All Christendom was Catholic. Why have you gone away?' And Jesus continued with great sweetness: 'The fault is not yours, it is the fault of others who are no longer alive: the fault of princes and kings, the fault of priests who were unworthy. But why do not *you* return to the faith of your fathers? Why must your faith still be the victim of those old passions. All Catholics your ancestors were, Catholics every one of them. They were all in My Church, and so should you be. The division in the faith has pained Me more than the wounds of My Passion; and, like every other division, it has remained a wound in the body of humanity. Bow your heads, you, too, and repent' " (pp. 156-57).

The second and longer section of the volume explains the methods and measures by which the new world is to be built (pp. 271-711). With charming simplicity the author faces the difficult question of what

Christ would do for the world today (p. 274). His answer is in the form of a complete plan of organization for a General Staff of the Ecclesia Militans.

He begins on the top level of the Church with the Pontifical Curia (p. 293). While convinced that it was a special divine Providence which put such outstanding personalities on Peter's Chair in recent decades, he finds that unfortunately the Holy Father's staff of collaborators has not always come quite up to expectations. He suggests the creation of a permanent ecclesiastical World Council, "Consiglio dei Ministri," composed of the chief representatives of the Roman Congregations, and the creation of a supreme Senate of the Catholic Laity, "Senato del Mondo" (pp. 304-5). The task of this composite World Council would be to deal with problems which cannot be adequately handled on a national or even a continental level, e.g., the more equal distribution of clergy throughout the world; the establishment of a world center of information for press, radio, television, charity and relief activities, etc. Among the most powerful aides to the World Council would be the religious orders and congregations. For their magnificent achievements of the past Fr. Lombardi has only praise, but he is severely critical of a certain stagnation and lack of adaptability in some religious communities.

On a second level, the author envisages a National Council, composed of the National Bishops' Conference, and of the various Catholic Action organizations, which would have consultative voice. This Council would handle problems which cannot be adequately dealt with on the diocesan level, e.g., the demarcation of dioceses; the distribution of secular and religious clergy; a more concentrated and uniform, and therefore more effective, policy; a "united front" on the national level in all questions concerning Catholic life, such as schools, press, labor-management relations, etc. (p. 358 ff.).

The Diocesan Council is found on the next level, and is formed on the same basis: the hierarchy leads and the laity assists in a united approach to the problems of social and charitable activities, public morals, vocations, etc. (p. 405 ff.). The author then discusses other units in order: the parish (p. 541), the family (p. 599), and finally the great mass of the people divided according to its social classes and occupations (p. 627).

The renewal of the Christian spirit on these different levels and within these different groups is to be the work of a specially trained élite of militant Christians, well versed in mental prayer and in the science of the spiritual life. The author at this point writes a most inspiring chapter on prayer (pp. 657-86). It is a masterpiece of spiritual psychology: with great facility and clarity he describes prayer from its most elementary vocal forms to its highest mystical stages. The author seems here to be in his element, and the ease and lucidity with which he writes tells of extensive personal experience. He lays particular stress on the eminently practical value of mental prayer, on the intimate connection, the action and reaction, which exists between

mental prayer and practical life. Mental prayer is illusory if it does not foster greater perfection in our daily lives; and, conversely, only he who sincerely strives to overcome himself and to give himself entirely to God, will progress in mental prayer.

The final and crowning chapter summarizes the plan of the invasion and conquest of the world in this Crusade for Christ. It emphasizes, too, the fact that the renewal in a given locale need not wait upon the initiative of higher ecclesiastical authorities; on the contrary, anyone, anywhere, may initiate it, provided, of course, that local ecclesiastical authority does not forbid a given activity. "A final word to those upon whom it will depend in great measure that this plan not remain a dream: the priests. Let them be convinced that they are the light of the world and that the darkness is waiting to be dispelled; let them be holy and humanity will be saved. Their scepticism in the face of the possibilities for good is one of the most terrible obstacles to the action of divine grace. Their fervor, on the other hand, communicates itself immediately to the faithful. This does not mean that they are to do the layman's work in meeting every problem; but it does mean that they are to gather the laymen together, to counsel them, to inspire them, to sustain them, and to nourish their interior spirit. . . . The Lord will do the rest. Above all, let the priests be united with one another in charity. If the priests act in harmony, the Catholic world reacts immediately and humanity will be saved. It is in the perfect union of the priests that the right spirit of renewal must primarily be incarnated; from them it will spread out, in the confessional and in the pulpit, when they baptize and when they console the relatives of the dead, when they catechize and when they instruct for marriage. No one resists if a united body of clergy is determined to save the world by the complete gift of themselves. So many priests and religious *are* joining the Crusade, becoming crusaders and apostles of unity in this fashion, in the very environment in which they find themselves! Wither the tongue of him who would destroy their unity!

"It is Jesus who shall bring this enterprise to a successful conclusion. For the general level on which it operates is divine, not human, and the only possible success is a divine one. History, under the guidance of divine Providence, has reached the point where it has an agonizing need of Jesus. Providence too will afford the solution for this crisis, and that solution will be Jesus Himself. Our role is to be faithful to Him, ever more faithful, until at last we no longer are because He alone does all things in us. Then we shall advance like blind men; we shall look back from time to time and see that we are executing a plan that is not ours, a plan that is much more beautiful, much greater than we" (pp. 709-10).

This rough outline has conveyed most inadequately the vast inspiration and the dynamic power of this book. But on the basis of what has been said, a few comments may not be out of place.

Fr. Lombardi primarily envisages conditions in Italy, or at least in Latin countries, where intense *activity* is the need of the hour. Other

nations, already suffering from excessive activism, might rather stress the contemplative part of the modern apostolate. Prayer and sacrifice are their need of the hour. A similar observation may be made in regard to Fr. Lombardi's emphasis on *organization.* The Latin countries undoubtedly have great need of this, but there are other countries—I am thinking, for example, of Germany—which have in the past suffered rather from over-organization to the detriment of a full and harmonic development of Christian character and personality. Fr. Lombardi also lays heavy stress on *centralization.* This stress does not seem to be excessive, yet centralization, too, when carried outside the field of faith and morals, can constitute a danger. A pronounced tendency towards standardization, mechanization, "Gleichschaltung," is characteristic of our day, and we cannot entirely escape its influence. Such uniformity has, indeed, become to a certain extent necessary, if we are to survive in deadly struggle with a highly centralized totalitarian enemy. But let us at least not be guilty of the same extremes as our opponent; let not uniformity be bought at the cost of that freedom of regional diversity which the children of God have developed throughout Christian history and which they legitimately enjoy today.

So much by way of precautionary and supplementary remarks. For the rest, this book as a whole, its fundamental attitude and tendency, deserve nothing but praise. One of its most heartening features is its decidedly *positive* attitude towards the modern world. There is no taint of false pessimism, of any eschatological doomsday mysticism or martyr complex. Far from denying or minimizing our responsibility, Fr. Lombardi again and again impresses upon us the duty we all have of constructive cooperation in the building of this "Mondo Nuovo," this new world.

Equally heartening is the truly catholic, the *cosmopolitan* outlook of the author. He regards our world always as one world, and parochialism, provincialism, nationalism are words unknown to him. This is as it should be. Why is it that any tendency in modern art, any economic system, any scientific theory, any political movement, any philosophical school is able quickly to spread the world over, while we Catholics remain ever divided, ever immured in our own narrow provincialism? Where, for example, are our Catholics working towards a truly catholic, a world-wide solution of the highly explosive and painful situation created by contemporary mass-shifts of population? Where are our global Catholic Information Services, our film-, radio-, and television-agencies? Shall it always be said that the children of this world are wiser than the children of light? That they are more anxious to spread their error and hatred unto the destruction of mankind, than we to spread divine Truth and Love unto its salvation?

Another inspiring and encouraging feature of Fr. Lombardi's message is his intrepid demand for *reform* where reform is needed. His approach is discreet and tactful; it takes existing difficulties into account. Yet, with that childlike candor which we have already remarked, he states facts often passed over in silence. This is the more notable in a

book written in Rome under the gaze of the Holy Father himself (Fr. Lombardi is on the staff of *Civiltà Cattolica*). But the author knows only too well—and says so, openly—that our Roman Pontiffs have, in recent years, been far more favorable to progress and reform than have their immediate entourage and many a member of the hierarchy elsewhere. Therefore—to mention one example—Fr. Lombardi unequivocally demands that high and responsible positions be given only to men possessed of the necessary qualifications, and not, by way of "pension" or reward, to men retiring from active life, however well-deserving these may be. In this connection, Fr. Lombardi inevitably finds it necessary to speak of envy and jealousy among the clergy, and of over-conservative attachment to antiquated forms and traditions, especially on the part of some religious communities.

We must praise, finally, Fr. Lombardi's undaunted *optimism*. Such optimism is a crying need in our day of wars and revolutions, of persecutions and economic upheavals. To be ever in a minority, ever on the defensive, may paralyze our wills. Mere lamentation, of course, is useless; nor should we underestimate the viciousness and ferocity of the adversary, nor be blind to the signs of weakness and defection in our own midst. But despite all these difficulties we must not lose heart. Our optimism is firmly rooted in Christ's promise of abiding; and to us too were said the consoling words, "Fear not, *little* flock!" It was a very small flock indeed, that once before conquered the world. Once again we need pioneers, but we must trust them, leave them some scope, some initiative of their own. It is well to be proud of our glorious past; but the past must not become a strait jacket to hinder progress and improvement.

Let us hope that Fr. Lombardi's books, which have already had several editions in German and have been translated into most other languages, including Japanese, may soon be available in English as well.

Bernard Welzel, S.J.

HELPS FOR DEVOUT THANKSGIVING

Christ in Me. Prayer Book for Communion Mass. *By Daniel A. Lord, S.J.* Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Company, 1952. Pp. xx-319.

For those who know Fr. Daniel Lord (Missouri Province) only through his books, "Christ In Me" is a rich source of information. This series of thanksgivings comes from the heart of a sincere and zealous priest. They are the results of Fr. Lord's own private prayer to our Savior and then of the public thanksgiving made for students and religious. Naturally they reveal something of the inner soul of the author, which only continues to affirm the high opinion that his friends and admirers have always maintained.

More important, however, is the value of the book as a help to a devout thanksgiving after Mass and Holy Communion. Fr. Lord has not discovered a new method nor does he offer anything unusual in the line of prayer. These same thoughts have all been pondered before, but not often have they been proposed in so orderly or usable a form. Each thanksgiving is a practical and sensible guide for the soul who possesses our Divine Lord and who finds it difficult suitably to express his gratitude and love.

The thanksgivings with our Lady and those based on our Savior's Hidden and Public Life are especially appealing. Lay people and religious—of all ages and degrees—will find this a welcome help to proper prayer to our Eucharistic Lord.

William C. McCusker, S.J.

PHILOSOPHER AND MARTYR

Edith Stein. *By Sister Teresia de Spiritu Sancto, O.D.C.* London and New York, Sheed and Ward, 1952. Pp. viii—238. $3.25.

This biography serves to introduce the reader to the life of its remarkable subject, but it does so by exciting without satisfying his curiosity. Edith Stein was born into a devout Jewish family, October 12, 1891. August 7, 1942, now Sister Benedicta, she disappeared from view, a Carmelite in the hands of the German police, traveling eastward. Perhaps she died that same year in the gas chambers of Auschwitz. Between these dates she had attained prominence among German philosophers (she was friend and disciple of Husserl), become a Catholic and then a Carmelite. As a philosopher she had, in the judgment of many, brought together Phenomenology and Thomism, a work which she reviewed and completed in the convent, besides producing others, among them a study of St. John of the Cross. Along with these labors she lived fully the Carmelite life of prayer which she crowned with martyrdom—her death an act of retaliation for the hierarchy's defense of the Jews. Such a person with not only spiritual but high intellectual gifts must have brought her Jewish inheritance, her philosophy and her Catholicism all to bear on what is, I believe, her sanctity. This sanctity, if it is to help us, must have its own flavor, its own color and flowering; it must resemble, and yet be quite different from that of—let us say—Teresa of Lisieux. But as we need the autobiography of Teresa to perceive the distinct and personal character of her holiness, so we need someone to act as our interpreter for Edith Stein who can, I believe, give us something quite as individual. This remains to be done; for the disappointment of this biography is that it fails to show in Edith Stein that which is peculiarly her own. It is, I am afraid, a narrative of externals.

To be fair, it hardly pretends to be more; so perhaps I am asking for too much too soon. At any rate a more profound treatment is some-

thing to hope for. Meanwhile, a reading of this biography will show why Sister Benedicta is attracting more and more interest and may well inspire someone to undertake the interpretation we need.

JOHN MANNING FRAUNCES, S.J.

SCHOLAR AND CONTROVERSIALIST

Father Thurston. *By Joseph Crehan, S.J.*, London, Sheed and Ward, 1952. Pp. viii—235. 12/6.

When Father Herbert Thurston died in 1939, he left behind him an international reputation as a scholar and as a writer on current topics. He wrote for the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and revised Butler's *Lives of the Saints*. For sixty-one years, from 1878 to 1939, he was a contributor to *The Month*. Perhaps less known are two other aspects of Father Thurston's life which Father Crehan treats in this memoir: Thurston, the controversialist and Thurston, the confessor. As a controversialist Thurston was involved in a dispute with Father George Tyrrell and the Modernists. On a more popular level he fought the common English prejudices against the Catholic Church: the immuring of nuns, selling of indulgences and Pope Joan. As a confessor he was learned (he was an authority on the Spiritual Exercises) and, according to multitudinous testimony, courteous and gentle.

If this book suffers from a defect it is a result of a factor that is always present in the writing of the life of any controversialist and writer of contemporary affairs. Persons, places and arguments which once meant very much to an interested world now mean little, and it takes elaborate introductions to put them into their context. Von Hügel, Dr. Coulton and Rider Haggard, the *immurati* and the Kiev Ritual Murder case are almost unknown to America and American readers. Father Thurston, the confessor, suffers the same fate in a section which is necessarily a compilation of anecdotes and Thurston's personal notes.

In general, however, the book gives a good appreciation of Father Thurston's talents as a writer and his integrity as an historian. There is one striking instance of Thurston's hatred of pseudo-scholarship. In 1903 he criticized *History of Confession and Indulgences* by a Dr. H. C. Lea with the seemingly rash statement, "in any ten consecutive pages ten palpable blunders may be unearthed." When he was challenged on this criticism thirty-three years after he wrote it, a disinterested third party was appointed to select at random ten consecutive pages for the test. Thurston found not ten, but fifteen errors on those pages. Father Crehan summarizes the life of Father Thurston: "Nor was it only completeness of information that men found in him, or serenity of thought, or integrity in the search for truth, but all of them compounded together and into one thing wrought."

GERARD F. X. GIBLIN, S.J.

Steppenbeck Bookbindery
BOUND
APR 21 1953